

A  
JOURNAL  
OF A  
VOYAGE

MADE INTO THE

**South Sea,**

BY THE

BUCANIERS or FREEBOOTERS

OF

**A M E R I C A;**

From the Year 1684 to 1689.

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Written by the *Sieur Raveneau de Luffan.*

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To which is Added,

The VOYAGE of the

*Sieur DE MONTAUBAN,*

Captain of the FREEBOOTERS on the  
Coast of *Guiney*, in the Year 1695.

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L O N D O N: Printed for *Tho. Newborough* at the  
*Golden Ball* in *St. Paul's Church-yard*, *John Nicholson*  
at the *King's Arms* in *Little Britain*, and *Benj. Tooke*  
at the *Temple-Gate* near *Temple-Bar*. 1698.

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*A Certificate given by the Governour of S. Domingo to the Author of this Journal, concerning his Service.*

*The Sieur de Cussy, His Majesty's Governour of the Tortoise Island, and the Coast of St. Domingo.*

**W**E do certifie, That the Sieur *Ravenau de Luffan* hath served in a Company of Fourscore and Four Men with the Sieur *Laurence de Graff*, in the Quality of an Ensign, against the *Spaniards*, His Majesty's Enemies; and that having gone into the South Sea, he fell into the Company of other *Freebooters*, from whence not being able to return, but by the force of their Arms; He has given upon those Occasions signal Proofs both of his Zeal and Courage. In Testimony whereof We have given him this Certificate, to which We have affixed Our Seal, and ordered Our Secretary to Counter sign the same.

Given at the Fort of Port-Paix,  
the 17th. of May, 1688.

Le Cussy.

By the Governour's Command,  
*Boyer.*

*A Copy of a Letter written by Monsieur de Cussy, His Majesty's Governour of the Tortoise Island, and Coast of St. Domingo, to Monsieur de Lubert, Treasurer-General of the Marine, upon the Subject-matter of this Author's Journal.*

S I R,

**I** Have taken Notice from those Letters you have done me the Honour to write unto me the preceding Years, that you Interest your self in the Affairs of the Sieur *Ravenau de Luffan*; Wherefore, Sir, I have thought it my Duty to Inform you of his Return from the South Sea, with Two Hundred and Sixty of his Comrades, who got clear out of that Country, by the performing of Wonderful Actions, the Particulars whereof I shall not enter upon, since he will have the Honour to give you an Exact and Faithful Account of them himself, being the only Person of all the Company that has kept a Journal.

I was in hopes to have got him embarked in the King's Ship, called the *Marine*, which was to be gone in two days, and Monsieur *de Beaugeau* the Commander, promised me to give him his Table upon your Account: But the said Sieur *de Luffan* thinking the Frigate to be gone, stay'd with meat *Port-Paix*, to wait an Opportunity of meeting with another Ship that should be bound directly for *Diep*. I heartily wish, Sir, I could meet with any Opportunity of serving you in these

these Parts, I should do it with exceeding Pleasure, as being with all Deference and Respect imaginable,

S I R,

At the Cape, May 7. 1688.

Your most Humble, and  
Obedient Servant,

De Cussy.

*A Copy of another Letter written by the said Monsieur de Cussy to the Father of the Author of this Journal.*

S I R,

I Cannot let your Son be gone, without testifying to you how much concerned I am in the Satisfaction and Joy you will have to see him return from so long and toylsome a Voyage, as I am confident of your being sorry at present, that I had not sent him home to you at the time you desired, which yet I should not have failed to do, had he not been absent, and at whose return I delivered him one of your Letters, which I always preserved safe with those of Monsieur de Lubert. He has no occasion to make use of me, tho' I have made him an offer of my utmost Service. I may say, without Vanity, that he has made the greatest and finest Voyage in our Age, and that he has seen Countries, which a great many People in the World content themselves to view in Maps, without desiring any other sight of them, tho' they had all the Riches thereof bestowed upon them for their pains. Besides the Pleasure you will have to see your Son again, you will have also that of hearing him Discourse, pertinently enough, of his Voyages and Adventures, there being no other besides himself of all the Company that can give an exact Account thereof, as having all along applyed himself to keep a very Punctual Journal of all Transactions, which I am confident will be pleasing to my Lord Marquess de Signelay: I have my self the Honour to write to him concerning it, that so I might engage your Son to go and Present it to him, which perhaps otherwise he would not have adventured to do, out of the little Esteem himself has of his own Work. This is what offers it self at present for me to write to you, assuring you I should take a deal of Pleasure to find my self in any Condition to serve him, and that I am,

S-I R,

Your most Humble, and most  
Obedient Servant,

At the Fort of Port-Paix  
May the 18th; 1688.

De Cussy.

CHAP. I.

*A Journal made by the Free-Booters into the South-Sea, in 1684. and in the following Years.*

IT is no very uncommon thing for a Child that is a Native of Paris, to go and seek his Fortune abroad, and to entertain a fixed Design of becoming a Man engaged in hazardous Adventures. This City, within which most of the Wonders of the World are contained, and which is perhaps the greatest that can be met with, ought, in my Opinion, to have the Preference of any other upon the Face of the Earth. But who is he that can penetrate into the Secrets of Nature, and give a Reason for some sort of Inclinations she works in the Minds of Mortals? As for my self, I must confess I am not able to give an Account of the Depth of my Desires; and all that I can say, is, That I have always had a most passionate Disposition for Travel. Scarce was I Seven Years old, when, through some innate Notions, whereof I had not the Mastery, I began to steal out of my Father's House: It's true, my first Rambles were not far, because my Age and Strength would not allow them to be so; but they were so much the more frequent; and I have often given my Parents the trouble to look after me in the Suburbs, and that Place we call *la Villette*. However, as I grew up, my Excursions were the larger, and by degrees I accustomed my self to lose a sight of Paris.

This rambling sort of Humour was accompanied with another, which I dare not dignifie with the Name of a Martial one, but was such as wrought in me an ardent Desire to see some Siege or Battel: I could not bear the Noise of the Drum in the Streets without those Transports of Mind, the remembrance whereof does still operate a kind of a vigorous Heat and Joy in me. It so fell out at length, that I met with an Officer, with whom I had but a slender Acquaintance, but my Warlike Genius quickly inclined me to make him my Friend. I looked upon him as a Person who could

*The Authors first Adventures and Dispositions.*

## The Free-Booters Voyage

be very serviceable to me in my Designs; and it was with this Prospect I applied myself to manage him. The Siege of *Civitas* being happily commenced at the time, and he being obliged to serve there with his Company, I made him the offer of a Sword that had hitherto done neither good nor harm to any Man, but which I was passionately desirous to make use of. Here was that he gave me the first Instances of his Friendship, for he took me freely along with him, and kept me all the Campaign; at the breaking up whereof returned with him no ways discouraged, or weary of War, as the greatest part of them are, who have had but just a Taste of it, And this I tell you was my first Adventure.

The second was not quite so good, for the Success that attended it, tho it was alike agreeable to my Estate, and according to my Heart's Desire, I happened to become a Cadet in the Marine Regiment, but I fell into the Hands of a Captain, who was wonderful skilful to drain the Children of the Family of their Money, so that this Campaign, wherein I hoped to have done the King some Service, was worn away in Expence. My Father gave more than he should, or I deserve to get my Discharge, and to set me once at full Liberty to take to what I liked best; It was not perhaps his Inclination I should do so, but it was mine, and was not long to seek.

God, who it seems, was not willing to make me of Conceit with the Trade, was so much the better Guide unto me at this time, as I was ill-guided before. For Monsieur the Count d'Avignon, whose personal Merit has sufficiently distinguished him in the Body of the French Guards, took me along with him to the Siege of St. Guislain, where I failed not to meet with new Pleasures in the use of Arms, tho it were never to be. There were a great many Mens Lives lost at this Siege, which yet did not cool the Desires I had to hazard my own: And tho my Parents, who could not well brook this my gadding Humour, were in hopes the Fatigue of War would cure me of it, they were mistaken in the matter; for I was no sooner got upon the Stones of Paris, but I grew weary of being there. I had nothing but Voyages in my Head, and those that were longer and most accompanied with Dangers, appeared to me

to be the best. For a Person never to get out of his Native Country, and to be ignorant how the rest of the Earth stands, appear'd to me a matter that should be appropriate to a Woman only; Whereas it was my Judgment, That a Man should never be confined to one Place, and that nothing could suit him better than to make himself acquainted with all those of his own Species. To travel by Land; I thought both long and difficult, and therefore I concluded I could sooner and more safely accomplish my Designs by betaking my self to the Sea; and now you find me ready to go on board.

There was nothing omitted on the part of Parents that were full of tender Affections for an extravagant Child, to divert me from my Resolution; But as to Young-men, such as I was, it may be said, as is usually done of Womenkind, That *what they will, God wills*; and to say the Truth, I was over-ruled by my Inclination herein; wherefore when they perceived, that absolutely to oppose my Humour, would make me but the more obstinate; they propos'd I should take a Voyage for *Omaha*, where I should find Friends and Protection in case of need; and as this exactly suited both with my Desires and Designs, and that provided I could get to Sea, I did not care whither bound; I very readily obeyed.

Diep was the Place where I embarked, and from whence I parted on the 5th of March, 1679. with great Satisfaction of Mind than I am well able to express: That Element, which, to the Generality of Men, seems very frightful, appeared to me the most amiable and delightful of any in the World. The Winds, if I may say so, wrought in me some Delight; for I found that almost every little Blast brought us happily onward on our Way: And I was so overjoyed to find my self in so desirable an Island, that I thought no more of the Hazards my Voyage made me liable to. Let no Man therefore be amazed thereat, if he finds none of them mentioned in my Journal. And seeing there are other Persons who have been particular enough in their Relations of this Passage, I have this only to say, that I safely arrived, through the Mercy of God, at *S. Domingo*; and if any one has the Curiosity to follow me in my remaining Expedition, he must begin from thence.

## The Free-Booters Voyage

I continued there, however, for above three Year not only in order to see the Countrey, but thro' the Conjunctions as would not admit me to go out of it; I found my self chained there to a *Frenchman*, that was so far from deserving the Name of one, that his hardened Malice much better became a *Turk*. But what Misery soever I have undergone with him, I freely forgive him, being resolved to forget his Name, which I shall not mention in this place, because the Law of Christianity requires it at my Hands; tho' as to matter of Charity he is not to expect much of that in me, since he on his part has been every way defective in the Exercise thereof upon my Account. But my Patience at last being quite worn out, as being weary of these Cruelties, whereof I saw no end, I made my Complaint to Monsieur de *Franquesnay* the King's Lieutenant, who acted as Governour since the others Decease; and whose Generosity proved to be a Sanctuary to me, he readily consenting to take me to his own House, where I staid six whole Months.

*Resolves to turn Free-Booter.*

I had borrowed Money in the mean time, and thought it was the part of an honest Man to repay. My Parents would have been perhaps very willing to have paid my Debts, but they could hear nothing from me, nor I from them; and the Letters they sent passed thro' such officious Hands, that they spared the Charge of Postage. I was therefore necessitated to seek out some other way to free my self; and thus found in meeting with that which satisfied the natural Inclination I had for travelling. I bethought my self making one of the *Free-Booters* Gang, to go a Voyage with them, and to borrow for the Payment of my Debts, as much Money as I could from the *Spaniards*. Now these sorts of Borrowings have this advantage attending them, That there is no Obligation of Repayment, as in our Countrey, they being esteemed the Product of a Just War; and seeing the place of Action is beyond the Line, there is no Talk there of making any Restitution: Besides which, we may observe in this place, that there was then a Rumour between the Two Crowns, and that we had a small Commission from my Lord Admiral to infect the *Spaniards*.

There was no question to be made, but I could find a Captain that would receive me; and I was not long in making the Choice, since there was not many of them at that time to pitch upon. *Laurence de Graff* was the Man I most fancied, who would make a special Corfair; and tho' he had not been long arriv'd, all that he wanted, was to be gone as well as I. We were in a few hours time well satisfied with each other, and became such Friends, as those are wont to be, who are about to run the same Risque of Fortune, and apparently to die together. This last indeed we should have reckon'd upon with most appearance of Reason, but it was what we least thought of. My Departure took up all my Thoughts, I furnished my self with Arms and other small Necessaries, at the Charge of *Monsieur de Franquesnay*, who was very ready to advance me some Money, which I have paid him since, and whose kindness I shall never forget. At last the day came, and I must freely say, it was, in my Opinion, one of the best in the Course of my Life. On the 22d. of November, in the Year 1684. we departed from *Pettis-Guaves*, on the Coast of *St. Domingo*, to the number of 120 Men on Board a Prize taken some time before by Captain *Laurence de Graff*, from the Spaniards, which they sent as an Advice-boat from *Carthagena* on the *Terra Firma* of *America*, to *Spain*.

Our Design was to go and join our selves with a Fleet of *Free-Boaters*, which we were in hopes to meet with before the *Havana*, a great City in the Isle of *Cuba* to the North, and about fourteen Leagues distant from *St. Domingo*.

We anchored on the 4th of December at the *Tortoise Mend* to take in Water, and on the 6th sail'd away in order to return to the Coast of *St. Domingo*, which is but Three Leagues off, and where we arriv'd the 12th, casting Anchor at *Cape Francis*, where we took in our full Store of Water and Wood. We left this Place on the 17th, and were taken with a North-wind two Leagues from the Road in such a manner, that we lost our Shallop, which was too big to be put upon our Gibbet. Towards Evening we sail'd back to a Place of Safety, where we were oblig'd to stay Two Days waiting for a Canoe we had sent to buy



## The Free-Bontes Voyage

at the Cape, from whence we came, such things we waited for making up the Logs of our Voyage. On the twentieth we made ready to sail, and to rejoin the *Victoria*, a Ship that came with us from the Cape, belonging to Nantes, and bound to the Isles of the Wind, which had on Board the Commander of St. Laurence, Lieutenant-General of the French Islands and the Coast of the Terra Firma of America, and Monsieur Begen Intendant of Justice, Policy, and the Finances of that Country, to whom we served as Convoy, lest they should have been attacked by the Spanish Pirogues that Cruise thereabouts. And indeed we had a great deal of Reason to be concerned for the Safety of those Gentlemen who were in much Esteem with all the Colonies of these Islands, because of the good Orders they kept, the exact Justice they administered, and the Tranquillity the People enjoyed under them; but we could not possibly set sight on this Ship, as not knowing what Course she steer'd.

The three and twentieth we steer'd our own Course, and in the Evening discovered a Ship to Decent of us, to whom we gave Chase, but she steered us to wait for us; and when we were come up with her, we found it was Captain le Suer of Diep, who commanded a Flute called the *Amarantha*, whom we quickly left, keeping our own Course. But on the five and twentieth, which was Christmas-day, we had a great Calm till next day, when the Wind proving contrary, obliged us to put back to the Port of Platta, on the Coast of St. Domingo, where we staid to the end of the Month.

On the First of January in the New Year, 1699, we doubled Cape St. Francis, and next day by Ten in the Morning did the same by Cape Cabron, and we doubled that of Savona towards Noon, they being all situated on the same Coast, and that day one of our Men died.

On the Fourth we sailed in sight of la Mona, next day coasted the Isle of Puerto Rico, and la Savona, and then steer'd South-East and by South, till the Eleventh, when we discovered the Isles of Ave, towards



onwards which we bore till the Evening, and doubled them on the Twelfth about Eleven in the Morning, keeping still the same Course till we came to the *Ile de la Rea*; where there was also another Rendezvous of our Men of War to be, which we were going to seek out.

On the Thirteenth, at Seven in the Morning, we discovered the main Land of *America*, and were becalmed next Day, which continued to the Fifteenth at Noon, when we had a fresh Gale, and steered North-North-East till the Seventeenth, when about Moon-setting we descri'd Two Ships and Four Boats to Windward of us, about a Cannon-Shot's Distance, that had the Cape of us, which brought us upon Deck to make all ready.

One of those Boats on the Eighteenth by break of Day, being a *Tarane* commanded by Captain *John*, as not knowing us presently, came up and hailed us; and as our Captain had a Commission from the Lord High Admiral of *France*, the Count of *Thouluse*, we made answer from *Paris*, and put out our Flag. But *Ros* who would not know us so, believing we had no other Intention in feigning our selves to be a King's Ship, than to get clear off him, gave us Two Guns to make us strike, insomuch that taking him really for a *Spaniard*, we knocked out the Head of Two Barrels of Powder, in order to burn our selves, and blow up the Ship, rather than fall into the Hands of those People, who never gave us Quarter, but were wont to make us suffer all imaginable Torments, they beginning usually with the Captain, whom they hang with his Commission about his Neck: But one of the Two Ships came up with us in a Moment, and knowing what we were, gave us a Signal, which was so much the more Satisfaction to us, that instead of Enemies, which we took them to be, they proved to be not only Friends, but those very Ships we were in quest of, which obliged us to put in at the Cape, and spend that Day to visit one another.

One of these Two Ships belonged to Captain *Michael Landaff*, and was called *The Mureaux*, but formerly *The Peace*; and the other to Captain *Laurence*.

## The Free Booters Voyage

de Grass, whose Name was The Neptune, but once The St. Francis, and which he had quitted, when he went in his Prize to St. Domingo to get a new Commission of the Governour, his own that he had being then expired. The first of these Ships carried Fifty Pieces of Cannon, and the other Forty four, and had both of them been Two Spanish Armada's, who the Year before coming out of Caribbea, to take the Ships commanded as well by the Captains, Laurence and Michael, as those of Captains, John Quer and Le Sage, were themselves taken by those, whom they were about to become Masters of: And as for the four Boats, they were commanded by other Captains, whose Names were Roze Vigner, La Grade, and an English Traitor from Jamaica; By them we were informed that they were watching in that Place for the Parish of Marguerite, and a Squadron of Spanish Ships, which they expected would sail that way, in order to take them.

On the Nineteenth we resolved to quit that Port, and did all we could to get up with the Isle of Curassol, a great part whereof belongs to the Hollanders. We sailed in sight of those of Bonuaira and Roube; and about Two in the Afternoon of the same Day, we chased a Flemish Boat that came from the Port of Guaira, on the Continent, and was returning to the Town of Curassol, Two Leagues to Leeward of which we anchored that Evening in the Port of Santa Barba.

On the Twentieth we sent away a Boat, under the Command of La Grade, to the Town to ask the Governour leave to buy us Masts for Captain Laurence his Ship, that had lost them in an Hurricane near the Isle of St. Thomas. But this he absolutely refused, and shut up the Gates against us. Upon the Boat's Return, and Relation given us of the Governour's Refusal, I carried him a Copy of our Commission, hoping to engage him by that means to grant us our Request; But he still persisted to deny us while a part of our Crew scrupled not in the meantime to go ashore, and enter into the Town after having left their Swords behind them at the Gate.

On the Twenty third our Ships weigh'd Anchor, in order to sail for *Sancta Cruz*, which stands seven Leagues to Leeward of this Town, and in our Passage by the Fort we saluted in, who returned us Gun for Gun. But the Governour finding we were two Hundred Men of us in the Town, informed us on the twenty fourth by beat of Drum, that it was his Pleasure we should be gone, and return forthwith on board our Ships, and that he would give us Shallops to carry us thither, provided we paid him two Pieces of Eight a Man. I presently discerned it was his Will we should not go back by Land, because we must for that purpose cross a Lake that stands at the foot of the Fort, which he had forbidden us to pass; And this made me go and tell him, we gave him thanks for his Shallops, that if we were minded to go by Sea to re-join our Ships, we had Pirogues to carry us thither; and that we had no other design to get to them by Land, but for a walk's sake: To which he answered, That the Inhabitants there scrupled to let us see their Island; but for all that, he would not let us pass over the Lake, and so we were two days before we could reach *Sancta Cruz*, where our Ships were waiting for

We came afterwards to know the reason of the Governour's Displeasure against us, which was, that Capt. *Laurence*, and Captain *Michael's* Ships had taken two Dutch Ships before the *Havana*, that were fraught for the *Spaniards*, having two Hundred Thousand Pieces of Eight on board, whereof one half belonged to the Dutch Company, and the rest to the *Spaniards*. These, with whom we were at War, being the only Persons that were pillaged, were indemnified by the Dutch, who had charge of the said Ships, and who shared with them the other one Hundred Thousand Pieces of Eight that belonged to their Company, which the *Free-Boomers* medled not with, being at Peace with that Nation; And they easily perswaded their Principals that all had been taken from them, and so we were punished for the Knavery these Dutchmen practised towards their own People.

Though this Island of *Curaçol* be well enough known in France, I cannot but take notice, as I go along, that the Temperature of its Air is the same with that

A Description of the Isle of Curaçol.

of

of *St. Domingo*, and produces the same sort of Fruits that the Land is almost level throughout, and the Country very naked because of the little Wood that grows there, but almost barren in several places, and produces little to the owners besides Maize and small Millet, yet it is watered with several Springs and Rivers. The Town that stands upon it, is small but very neat, being encompassed with an high though very thin Wall. There is a good and safe Port belongs to it, and the Fort that commands it as well as the Town is very regularly fortified; the Inhabitants are of several Sorts of Religions, the exercise thereof being free, the chief of which is that of the Dutch, of the Jews, as well as of others; each of whom have their respective places of Worship in the Town. The chief of their Trade consists in Sugar that grows there, and of Wool which comes from the Sheep which breed upon the place in great Numbers: Besides the Skins of these Animals as also of a great many Oxen and Cows, which they keep in the lowest and best watered Grounds of this Island, where it abounds in Pasture: they are altogether affected to the Spanish Nation, with whom they have the main of their Trade.

On the twenty seventh we made ready and steered our Course for *Capella Yela*, which is on the Continent of *America*, where we designed to fix our selves in order to wait for the Parach, of *Margarita*, whereof I have already spoken: The same day Captain *Worm's* boat left us to return to the Coast of *St. Domingo* because they had not Men enough to make any thing of the Enterprize, there being no more than twenty on board her.

Being come to the Cape by the thirtieth, we anchored there; and our next care was to set a Vigil of some Sentinels, to the Number of fifteen upon the top of it, to give us notice when they discovered the Parach, but next day we thought it more advisable to pursue this following method to get Intelligence: We sent on the first of February Captain *Reis's* Boat to the Mouth of the River *la Acbe* on the Continent, inhabited by *Spaniards*, and about twenty Leagues distant from the Cape where we then were, under pretence of trading with them, but in reality with a design to make some Prisoners, that so we might be informed whether the

Parach

French was passed by that way or no; for it was usual for her to take in part of her lading in that River.

While we waited for the return of this Boat, I and some others went a shore to view and observe the Country about the Cape. I understood it was inhabited by a most cruel, barbarous and savage Indian Nation, who are neither Friends to, nor have Society with any other People whatsoever, no not even with the Spaniards themselves, who live round about them. They eat without any distinction whatever they can catch, and are afraid of nothing but Swords and the like Weapons; but as for Fire-Arms they matter them not at all; we were furnished to have a fight of them as we pleased, without having the Curiosity to make a trial of their Teeth, by going farther up into a Country, where there was nothing to be got.

I am not able to forbear in this place to give a strange Example of what I am speaking, and of what this People can do, whom I take to be the oldest Free-Born of America. The Marquis of Maintenon, Governor of the Isle of Mary Gallans, who had the command of one of the King's Frigats called the *Witch*, having taken a Prize of fourteen Guns, which he went on Board, and finding himself one day separated from his own Ship, was constrained, in order to take in water, to call Anchor at *Bos del Drago* on the Terra Firma of America, which was inhabited by the same Indian People as live at Cape la Vella. He brought his Ship as near the Shore as he could, and bringing all his Cannon to bear on one side, he sent under the Cover of them his Shallop with two and twenty armed Men to fill their Casks with Water. Now those Savages lying in Ambush upon the Sea-side, did not give the Shallop time to land, but throwing themselves headlong into the Water, and rushing upon them in spite of the continual Fire made upon them from the Cannon of the Man of War, they carried her with the two and twenty Men for above fifty Paces to Land, where after they had killed them, every one took his man upon his Back, and moved them off; then they returned, and swimming to cut the Cables of the Ship to make her drive a-board, they hoped also to serve those on board the same Sauce, but as good luck would have it, they had time to loose their Sails and to make ready to get farther off from the Shore.

*A strange  
Story of the  
Savages.*

On

On the second we put our Ships into a Careening Posture, and on the eight *Rose's* Boar returned to us, and gave an account, that as soon as they had anchored at the Mouth of the River *la Acha*, they sent a small Canoe with six *Englishmen* in it a-shore, they being of our Crew, and at Peace then with the *Spaniards*, who agreed with them, that next Morning about Sun-rising, they would fire a Gun to give the other notice to come on board to traffick with them; That in the night they had put thirty men a-shore to surprize those of the *Spaniards* that should pass to and fro; But that the *Spaniards* having discerned the Snare that was laid for them, fired all night, which gave all the Inhabitants the alarm; That next Morning our People fired their Cannon of Signal according to the Agreement, and put out *English* Colours, but it was to no purpose, for the *Spaniards* according to all appearance, had no inclination for those Goods they supposed we would trade with them in, so that our Men finding their design had miscarried, weighed Anchor and sailed away to join us.

*The Free-  
Booters  
disagree  
and part.*

As we were of opinion at last that there was no hopes the Parach would pass that way, we held a Council on board our Ship about forming another Design, but not being able to agree with Captain *Lawrence*, (who was owner of two thirds of the *Neptune*) because he would have imposed upon us; there were four-score and seven that quitted the Ship and went on board the Prize in which we came from *St. Domingo*, and so left him on the thirteenth. He weighed and steered his Course thitherward; Captain *Michael*, and Captain *John Rose* weighed also, and sailed for *Cartagena*, and we who were irresolute what way to take, followed the latter.

On the 25th we had a hard Easterly Breeze, which carried us beyond a River that runs on the *Terra-Firma*, and is by the *Spaniards* called *Rio-grande*, where we should have taken in Water which continues sweet within the Sea for three or four Leagues from the Mouth of it, for all it rains so little, and provided you take that which runs on the Superficies. About three of the same day in the Afternoon, we saw our *Lady de la Poupla* which is also on the Continent, and the 16th anchored at the Isles of *St. Bernard*, from whence we parted

parted in the Evening with three Pirogues only, in order to get to windward of *Carthagena*, to endeavour to seek us some Provision which they continually carry to that place, and our Design had in effect the desired success.

We returned on the 18th with seven Pirogues laden with Maes, which we made good Prize: By the *Spaniards* that were in them, we understood, that there were two Gallions at *Carthagena*, and that the *Spanish* Flota was at *Porro Belo*, and that two Ships, one carrying twenty and the other twenty four Guns would quickly put out from thence; but we did not think fit to wait for them, because they could not assign to us any determinate time when they should sail.

On the twenty second at Noon we weighed, and towards Evening discovered *Point Picaron* on the Continent, and the Isles of *Palmas*: About two Hours within the Night we doubled the greatest Point of these Islands. The next Morning, which was the twenty third, we found our selves separated from Captain *Michael* and Captain *Rose*, and then it was we took a Resolution of attempting to cross over the Continent to the end we might get into the *South-Sea*: In order to which we sailed to the Bay of the Isle of *Or*, which is inhabited by the *Indians* of *Sambes*, that so we might know of them (who were our Friends) what success the other Free-booters met with, who, we had been told, were gone thither some Months before.

From the twenty third at Night to the twenty fourth we kept to the Cape, being afraid of entering into the Gulph of *Arian*, and that Morning by break of Day we made nearer the Shoar, to discover where we were, and upon trial we found it to be a Point of the Wind is that Gulph, which the Currents made us to double.

Between this Gulph and Cape *Matance* happened a very remarkable Adventure; we had on board our Ship a Soldier belonging to the *Spanish* Gallions, whom we had taken to windward of *Carthagena*, in one of the Pirogues whereof we found the Maes before spoken of, who out of a despair to find himself made a Prisoner, though he was very kindly used, took a Resolution, as appeared by what followed, to throw himself into the Sea, to which end he went five or six times

*A strange story of a Spanish Soldier.*



times upon Deck without being able to put his Design in execution; and that in all likelihood, out of a secret resistance he found within himself to do it: But at last, after several Attempts, he effected the same, which exciting my Curiosity to enquire into the Circumstances thereof, I found he had put off a Scapulary or kind of Cloak he wore, and laid it under the Carriage of one of our Guns: And what is yet more extraordinary is, that contrary to what usually happens in such cases, the Body which fell down with full force into the Water, floated along time upon the Back of the Ship's side, though to our apprehension he did all he could to drown himself; But when out of Compassion to save his Life we threw out some of our Tackel for him to catch hold on, he not only refused to make use of them, but turned himself upon his Face and plung'd to the bottom.

On the Twenty fifth at Eleven in the Morning we arriv'd and anchor'd at the Isle of St. On, or Golden Island, and at the same time fired a Gun to give the Indians notice of our coming. Then we went ashore, to know what that Flag was: we discover'd at a distance from us, where we found three Men belonging to Captain Grogner and Captain Lefebvre's Crew, who told us that they had raised there because they would not go with the other Free-Boaters, who were on their journey to the South-Sea, under the Conduct of those two Captains, and that as soon as ever they saw us, they had set up that Flag, as a Signal for us to come up to them.

The Six and twentieth came some Indians with Letters on Board us, which were directed to the first Free-Boaters that should Anchor in that Road, to give them notice, that they were gone, to the number of an hundred and seventy Men to that Sea, and some small time before them an hundred and fifteen English; Besides which they also set us some Instructions how to demean our selves towards the Indians through whose Territories we must pass, wherewith we were fully confirmed in the Project we had already formed of undertaking this Expedition: And though we were but fourscore and seven Men, yet we made our selves ready to be gone. In the mean time some other Indians came also on Board us, by whom we were informed,



informed, that Captain Gréguier and Captain Lefebvre were still in their Territories, and not yet gone to the South Sea, which made us write to them by one of those two Indians, to let them know that we were coming to them.

On the Twenty seventh at Noon we saw Captain Michel and Captain Rofe run in to the same Port, which made us go presently on Board, to know what made them come in and Anchor in that Road. They told us they had been in Chase of a Spanish Ship named the *Harpy* come from St. Jago on the Coast of Cuba and bound for Carthagena, but not being able to come up with her, they were come into this Port, as being the safest, to take in Water. Then we shew'd them the Letters we had received, which wrought a Desire in many of them to come and increase our Number, insomuch that an hundred and eighteen Men quitted Michel's Ship, and the whole Crew of Captain Rofe, being Sixty four Men, who burnt their Vails, when they had paid the Owners the price of hire. We were not then for delaying, but on the Twenty eighth quitted our Ships and went a-shore, whither we came to the Number of Two hundred fifty and four Persons, but as to the Ship belonging to our particular Crew we left her in the Hands of Captain Michel, rather than burn her.

The six and twentieth came some Indians with Letters on Board us, which were directed to the first five Boats that should Anchor in that Road, to give them notice, that they were gone, to the number of an hundred and seventy Men to that Sea, and some small time before them an hundred and fifteen English Boats which they also let us some Instructions how to demean our selves towards the Indians through whole Territories we must pass, whereby we were fully confirmed in the Project we had already formed of undertaking this Expedition. And though we were but two hundred and seven Men, yet we made our way to be long. In the mean time some other Indians came also on Board us, by whom we were informed,

## CHAP. II.

Our Passage cross the Continent of America,  
to go to the South-Sea.

*The Bucca-  
mers pass  
over Land  
to the  
South-  
Sea, and  
other Ob-  
servations.*

**S**unday the first of March, in the Year 1685, after we had recommended our selves to the Almighty Protection, we set out under the Command of Captain Rose, Captain Picard, and Captain Desmarais, with two Indian Guides; and about forty more of that Nation, whom we took along with us for the ease of those who were most burden'd amongst us. We could not travel above three Leagues that day, and encamp'd by a River-side, after we had pass'd through a Country that presently discovered a terrible Aspect to us, and then proved very difficult to travel in, because of the Mountains, Precipices and impenetrable Forests whereof it is full: And the Difficulty of our Journey was still the more increased by the great Rains that fell all the next Day. To say nothing, that in ascending these Mountains which are of a prodigious height, we were clogg'd with the weight of our Ammunition, Arms, and other Iron-Tools we carried with us: Upon our coming down from these Mountains we got into a Plain, which though it were without any Tracts or Ways, yet appear'd very easie to us, but that we were oblig'd no less than four or forty times in the space but of two Leagues to cross the same River, which because it ran between very slippery Rocks, gave us a great deal of trouble to get over it, being always in danger of falling.

On the Fourth we lay in an Indian Carber, which is a spacious sort of a Lodging, built almost like a Barn, wherein the People are wont to meet together: there we stayed next Day to go a Hunting, where we found great numbers of Deer, and all sorts of Birds: Amongst others we saw a kind of Animals which the Indians call *Manipouryes*, and we Trefsed because

because, as they go along, each of their Feet leaves the print of this Simple in the Ground. This Animal is as big as a small Bullock, but his Hair is not so long, and more slick, his Legs are short, he has the head of an Ass, but a sharper Nose, and walks in the bottom of the Water as well as on dry Land. They have here also a sort of Hogs, which they call *Vents*, because of an opening place they have in the form of a Navel upon their Backs. We may farther take notice of those Beasts they call *Agoutills* and *Ovistills*, which both the one and the other of them are very like those Creatures we call *Indian Pigs* in France, but much bigger. The Monkeys of this Country are almost as big as Sheep, live in Forests, and seldom come down from the Trees, where they always find their Food. They are so hardy, that though you shoot them with a Fusil in the Head, or through both Shoulders, they shall not fall to the Ground, and many times for all you can do, they have so much cunning in their fall, as to twist their Tails, which are very long about a Branch of a Tree, where they hang and wait away, without any possibility of coming at them, because they generally make choice of the tallest Trees for the places of their Retreat.

I cannot without smiling call to mind what I have done to one of these Animals, which after I had made several shots at him with my Fusil, that carried off part of his Belly, insomuch that his Guts came out, held himself by one of his Paws, or hands (if you will) to the Branch of a Tree, while he put his Entrails with the other into that part of his Belly that still remained whole.

There was another of them whom I shot with a small Bullet cross his Nose, and who finding himself blinded with the Blood that gushed out, had so much industry as to wipe it off with the Leaves of the Tree whereon he stood. Here also we found *Harats*, which are a sort of Birds as big again as Parrots; to whom they are very like, even to the note they have: but their Feathers are infinitely more fine, for their Wings and Tail, which is very long, are of so lively and bright-flaming colour, that you cannot for some time take your Eye upon them without being dazzled. Here

we saw those Fowls called *Oecos*, which are pretty like unto our *Indian* Turkey-Hens, but with this difference, that they have a small tuft of Feathers upon their Heads that resembles a Cock's Comb, and a round of yellow about their Eyes; they differ from one another in Colour; the Male's Feathers being inclinable to red, whereas the Female's are blackish, but they are never found a-sunder. Their Partridges are larger than our *Europeans*, and their Flesh is whiter but not so good, and their Note is different from ours. As to their Pheasants they are smaller than those in *Europe*, and their Flesh nothing near so palatable, but their Note is much the same. Besides these, there are in this Country a multitude of other Birds, whose Names I think it needless to swell this Journal, because as the Islands of *America* are full of them, there is already an exact account given of them in those Relations that have been made of these Countries, and it's enough that I give a Description of such as are not to be found in these Islands, or of another kind: Yet I shall say this farther, that Lizzards breed here in abundance, and there are different Sizes of them. They are Animals that resemble pretty nearly those whom we call *Cayements*, of whom I shall have occasion to speak hereafter. Their Flesh is good to eat, and their Eggs, which are as big as Pigeon Eggs, have an excellent taste, and are much better than our Hens Eggs. This hunting-bout was a great Relief to us, against that hunger we had endured, because it was the first repast we had met with since our Journey; but this I reckon nothing in comparison of the miseries which we were to suffer in a vast number of other Adventures.

At last, after six Days painfull and wearisome travelling, even beyond all that can well be imagined, we got to the River which the *Indians* and *Spaniards* call *Boca del Chica*, that discharges it self into the South Sea.

On the seventh the *Indians* of that place carried us to see Trees that were proper to make our Canoes of, in order to get down that River into the South Sea; we presently fell to work upon them with our Utensils and Iron tools, which we had brought along

With us, after we had agreed with the Captains of these *Indians* for furnishing us in the mean time with Victuals, which consisted in Maes, Potatoes, Banames and Magnior-Roots, till we had done our work, upon condition that we gave them Cloth, Knives, Thread, Needles, Pins, Cissors, Harchets, Bills, Combs, and such like small Wares, which are in great esteem with them: Though the Savages are not ignorant of the advantage that doth arise to them from these things.

It was partly with these Toys that we lived, and kept a good Correspondence with them during our Passage through their Country; but what made the Conjunction still more favourable unto us, was the Repentment they had at that time of the ill usage they had received at the hands of the *Spaniards*, against whom they were so incensed, that they begged our Assistance to be revenged on them. And had it not been for this, it would have been a very difficult task for us, if not impossible, to cross their Country against their will, not only because of their Numbers, which made them infallibly much stronger than we, but also for reason of the many Forests, and difficult Passages their Country's encombred with, which we could not have gone through without we had some of themselves for our Guides. But for all this, we did not think ourselves so safe amongst these Men, but that we kept continually upon our Guard, because we were well assured they were such Wretches, as were at the Service always of those that gave them most; and that though they appeared one minute to be our Friends, they might become the next the *Spaniards*, who are near Neighbours to them. Their treacherous Dealings have proved fatal to some *Free-Booters*, who have put too much confidence in them, when a small number of them passing through their Country, these People gave notice thereof to the *Spaniards*, and that they might give an exact account of their Number, they took them in a defile, and as they marched along, they put a Corn of Maes into a Callabass for every man that passed by, and when they had done, carried the Callabass to the Enemy, who thereupon took their Measures according-

There is no sign of Religion, or of the Knowledge of God amongst them; they holding that they have Communion with the Devil, and in short, when they would know any thing, they spend the Night in the Woods in order to consult him; and they sometimes foretold us some things, that have been true in the event in every particular Circumstance of the relation they had given us. They lead a wandering and vagabond Life, and fix their abode in no certain place. They generally erect their *Ajoupas* or Barracks upon a River-side, where they continue till they have spent what Sustenance they find thereabouts; and when that is done, they go and do the same thing upon another River, and in this manner spend the term of their miserable Lives. They go naked, except it be that they cover a part of their Privities with a bit of Silver or Gold that is made like a Candle-Extinguisher, and were I but satisfied that they had ever seen such a thing, I should think they took their mode from it.

When they feast, or hold other solemn Meetings they put on a Cotton-Robe all of one Piece, and use it usual with them, in a vaunting manner, to have a bit of Gold or *Caracoly* of an Oval Form, hanging from their Nose, which is bored through, and with this they think themselves as fine as any in the Woods. As for the Women-kind, they cover themselves from the Waist downwards with an Herb or Cotton Cloth, which they make themselves, and that they may appear finer, they colour their Faces with *Rocon*, which is a small Grain that dyes a brown-red.

On the twenty third, as we had finished the building of our Canoes, we had News brought us by an *Indian*, who was returned from conducting the one hundred and fifteen *English* afore spoken of to the South Sea, whither they were gone before us; that they had taken, under the Command of *Townley* their Captain, two Ships laden with Provision, coming from *London*. He brought along with him a Man of Captain *Groigniet's* Crew, who was lost in the Woods a hunting, while his Comrades were making their Canoes in the same River where we were building ours.

On the twenty eighth we received News again by an Indian Captain, who had conducted Captain Graigier, and Captain Esurier into the South-Sea, in a Letter which they sent us, that they would stay for us at Kings-Islands, and desired us to lose no time, but to come and have our share in taking of the Fleet of Peru, which they waited for: But for all the Expedition we could use, our Conoes could not be finished before the last of March, when we drew them into the River.

April the first we parted with fourteen Canoes carrying about twenty Oars apiece, guided by twenty Indians, who made use of this opportunity in order to participate of the Booty which they thought we were about to take from the Spaniards, as soon as ever we got into the South-Sea.

We rested on the fourth to tarry for our Men, who were behind, and to mend our Canoes that were dammified by the Rocks and Flats we met with all along that River. It cannot be believed what pains we had to bring them to the great Water (as I may call it) for we met with places where they rested dry, so that we were in a manner forced to carry them. This day died one of our Men of the Bloody Flux, which was very rife amongst us, because we were forced to fast so long, and by reason of the hard Feeding we had, and our continual dabling in the Water.

On the fifth we put on, and about Evening found the River deeper, but so full of, and encumbered with Trees, which the Floods had carried thither, that our Canoes were in danger every Minute to be lost; and this day died two of our Men.

On the sixth we got to the great Water, where the River is wider and deeper, and that day we spent on the Banks of it to dry our Sacks, which were wet through with the great Rains that fell the day before; another of our Men died this day.

From hence to the eleventh we did all we could to get quickly to the Mouth of the River, where we were informed by an Indian, that was come in a small Vessel to meet us, the English and French Free-Boats had sent a shore in a little Bay called Boca del Chi-

Good news  
of Provision  
sent them  
by the other  
Free-  
Boaters:



en. (that stands at the Mouth of that River) some Corn for our Refreshment, when we should get down thither; for they could gather very well by themselves, who had been so straitned there for Provision whereabouts we must be, and indeed we had so little, that we were reduced to an handfull of Raw Man for each Mah a day.

The same Day we received farther News, and by other *Indians*, who gave our Guides notice to tell us, that a thousand *Spaniards* being informed of our Descent, mounted up along this River by Land with design to lay an Ambuscade for us: Hereupon we resolved not to stir, but in the night-time, and the without noise, that so we might shun them, and thus succeeded accordingly. But we fell into another inconvenience; and that was, we being Strangers in the Country, and knowing no more than our Guides how high the Tide flowed in this River, we were surprized with the coming in of it, and drove our Canoes and us very far, so that one of them was overset with a great Tree that had fallen in the River, and upon which the swiftness of the current threw it, but it luckily fell out that no one was drowned; they quitted it for the Arms and Ammunition that were lost; which could not but work some trouble in us, to see our Men disarmed in a Country, where we could not go, but must have much occasion to use them; but to deliver us from this Inquietude, God was pleased to dispose of some of us, who left their Arms to those that had lost their own.

*They escape  
the Spaniards.*

When we were got clear of these Dangers, our Guides advised us to row gently, for fear the *Indian Spaniards*, who were our Enemies, should hear us, and who lay in wait to attack us, some Leagues up the side the Mouth of the River, in a place called *Lestocade*; we took their Council and when we were got over against the said place, where the River is very broad, we disposed of our Canoes in such a manner, that by the favour of the night they appeared to be much less than they really were. Now these *Indian Spaniards* having some Glimpse of us, asked who was there, and our Guides having answered, That what they saw, was

nough



nought but a few Boats belonging to them, with which they were going to fetch Salt into the South-Sea; by this wile we were spared the labour of engaging with those Rascals.

On the twelfth in the Morning we cast Anchor, because the Tide came in, and was against us, and about ten made ready, but towards Noon the Heavens were overcast to that degree, that you could scarce see a Man from one end of a Canoe to the other, and this was followed with such excessive Rains, that we were afraid every Minute of being sunk, though we employed two men in each Canoe continually to throw out the Water; and during that time one of our Men died.

The same Day at Mid-night we got to the Mouth of the River, and entred into the South-Sea, from whence we made directly for the Bay of Boca del Chiriqui to see for the Provision which we were told was there, and which we found accordingly; but before this we met with a Canoe of Captain Grognet that waited for us, and two Barks at Anchor. They had been purposely sent by the *English*, both to tow our Canoes to the place where the Fleet of *Free-boaters* were, and to bring us more Provision.

Arrive in  
the South-  
Sea.

On the thirteenth in the Morning we carried our Sick on board them two Barks for their better Accommodation, and then weigh'd Anchor, in order to sail together to an Island four Leagues distant from the Mouth of that River, where we refreshed our selves for two days with the Provision the *English* had sent us, which was a mighty comfort to us.

On the sixteenth we went off in order to find out the *English* and *French* Fleet, whose Rendezvous was to cruise either before *Panama*, or at the *Keys Islands* which were not far from this River.

We arrived at those Islands on the eighteenth, which stand thirty Leagues to the East of *Panama*, where we found the largest of them, to look more like the Continent than an Island, so spacious and mountainous it is. The same is inhabited by those Negroes whom they call *Marons* or Fugitives from the *Spaniards*, who upon making their escapes from their Masters at *Pa-*

men and the adjacent places have made it a place of Refuge. This day one of our Men died.

We entered into this Sea at a very bad time for about this height there are some Years when in it rains every day for the space of six Months and we happen to come thither exactly at such a Season.

I should think it would have been proper in this place before I proceeded to give a relation of our Adventures to give a large and exact Description of the South-Sea, and this fourth part of the World, which it is washed, and to set forth the Longitude and Latitude of the Places; But as 'tis my design to write of nothing but what was transacted by us there, and that this Country is well enough discovered by the Geographical Charts that have been made of it, I leave the Reader when he has occasion to be informed here in, have recourse to them. I shall content myself with taking notice only, that all the Continent respects the South-Sea, stands East and West, and most of the Islands North and South of it; and that it runs from East to South-East, to South and South-West and from the West, to West North-West, and to the North-West.

The South  
Sea descri-  
bed.

The Spaniards are the only Foreigners that possess these Countries, since the unjust Usurpation they have made of them from the Aborigines, over whom they made themselves Masters by such tyrannical and cruel Methods as have been heard of throughout the World. They have good Towns upon the Sea-side, which reach from the height of the Islands of Dom-Fernandez that are situated at the Mouth of the Gulph of Magellan, or rather from Chily to the middle of a strait that is between the Terra Firma and the Isles of California, which the Spaniards call Mar-Bermuda through which its believed, a Communication may be had between the Northern and Southern Seas without going about by the Surlight of America; The chief of these Towns begin from the South, and are Arica, Sagna, Nasca, Pachacama, Lima, Cidade de Reyes the Port of Callao which is the place of embarking for this last, and where the King of Spain's Ship anchor;

anchore, that is the Fleet of Peru, Truxillo, Paite  
Chaquilla, la Barbacoa, which is an open Mine  
from whence the Spaniards get a great deal of Gold,  
Panama, Realagus, Teoantepequa, Acapulco, and seve-  
ral others, that are as well Maritime as Inland Pla-

Its above ten Years since the Spaniards, who dwell  
on all this Continent, have not known what War  
was. Here they lived in a profound Tranquillity,  
and Fire-Arms was hardly in any use amongst them;  
but since the time that we found out a way to go and  
visit them, they brought the English from Jamaica  
amongst them. But though they have a pretty ma-  
ny of them at present there, yet the Sequel of this  
Discourse will shew that they are not much more  
warlike for all that than they were before: But the  
White Indians that inhabit a part of Chily, have  
been always their Enemies, and these are a Peo-  
ple of prodigious bulk and Tallness, who almost  
infest them with continual War, and when they  
happen to take any of them, they take off the plate  
of their Breasts, as we do by a Tortoise, and cut out  
their Hearts.

On the twenty second, which was Easter-day, their  
Fleet, who were gone before us into these Seas, ar-  
rived at the Kings Isles where we were; they con-  
sisted of eight sail, which, together with the two  
Barks, they had sent to wait for our Arrival, made  
up in all ten Vessels. Of which take the following Ac-

The first served as Admiral, and was a Frigate  
carrying 36 Guns, commanded by one Captain Da-

*A List of  
the Bucca-  
neers Fleet  
and Com-  
manders.*

The next was instead of Vice-Admiral, had 16  
Guns, and was under the command of one whose  
Name was Sammes.

The third and fourth were two Ships commanded  
by Captain Townsley.

The fifth was a Ship that could have carried thirty  
Guns but had none, and was commanded by Captain  
Grogner.

The sixth was a Ship that could have carried thirty  
Guns but had none, and was commanded by Captain  
Grogner.

The sixth was a small Ship commanded by *Brady*.

The eighth was a long Bark commanded by a Quarter-Master, with a Detachment of Men drawn out of the Fleet.

And the ninth and tenth were the two Barks that came to meet us, whereof the one was commanded by *Peter Henry*, and the other by a Quarter-Master.

Of all these Commanders, Captain *Grognet* was the only *Frenchman*, all the rest being *Englishmen*, except *David*, who was a *Flemming*. As to the whole number of our Men, they were computed at about eleven hundred, when they divided into two Fleets: It remains therefore now that I should say, according to the Information I have received from all that were engaged in this Enterprize, how all these Ships fell into their Hands, by what means, and at what time they came into this Sea.

A brief account of the English Adventures in these Seas hitherto.

In pursuance therefore to the order before observed, I am to declare, that the *English* were the Owners of our Admiral, who in the Year 1682 on the Coast of *St. Domingo*, surprized a long Bark belonging to a *French* Captain, whose Name was *Tristan*, who was then with some of his Ships Crew a-shore, waiting for a fair Wind to sail together, to make War upon the *Spaniards* by Commission from *Monieur Povansay*, who was then Governour of that Island. The *English*, who was superiour in strength, drove the *French* out of the Bark, with which they sailed to the *Ile de la Tortille*, whither a great many Ships go every Year to take in Salt. The next thing they did, was to take a *Dutch* Ship, on which they went all on board, and sailed afterwards to the Coast of *Guinee*, where they took several Prizes more; but they reserved none of them save the *Dutch* Ship, which served as Admiral, and wherein they sailed, when we left the *South-Sea*, and was supposed to have been a Ship belonging to *Hamburg*. These *English* became *Pirates* under the Conduct of a Captain of their own, and grew so notoriously wicked by a great many other

ous Actions, performed not only towards Strangers, but even those of their own Nation, when they met with any of them, that to avoid being chased, which they would infallibly have been, they passed from the North to the South-Sea, by the Streight of Magellan.

They kept company for about eight Months with a little Frigate of eighteen Guns, which they met with there in a short time after their Arrival, and whose Crew consisted of *Englisb*, *French* and *Flemings*: But their good Correspondence with the *Captain* was of no long Duration, for hapning to have some difference with him, as he was one Morning giving the other the good Morrow, according to the *Englisb* Mode, he saw all his Crew come upon Deck; whereupon the little Frigate, who sailed much better than the Pyrate came up with him, and having brought all his Guns to bear, gave him a broad-side, accompanied with a Volley of small Shot, and then bore away, having slain the Captain and twenty of his Men, in whose stead the rest of the Crew chose *David* before-mentioned.

That little Frigate of sixteen Guns, got into the South-Sea some time after the other, as also by the same Streight of Magellan. I was told by one of the Engineers on board her, that she belonged to his Royal Highness the Duke of York, and that under pretence of coming to treat with the *Spaniards*, she was sent upon no other account, than to take a Plan of those parts, the Situation of the Cities and Sea-Ports. Now Captain *David* meeting with her, made Captain *Suams* come on board him, and threatened to take him, unless he would go and make War with him; so that finding himself too weak to resist, he chose rather to comply with the Pyrate, than be taken; and these two together took a great many Prizes, which, after they had taken out what was for their turn, they burnt.

About a Year after, Captain *Towneley* came over Land with an hundred and fifteen *Englisb* into these Seas, and at the *Kings* Islands took two Ships laden with Provision and other Refreshments,

ments, whereof I have already spoken, coming from Peru.

About a Month after, the Captains *Groigniet* and *l'Escuier* went also thither over Land with two hundred and seventy Men, and who, being informed that the *English* Fleet was before *Panama*, put ashore one night at *Tavoga*, an Island two Leagues off from whence they discerned a Ship on Fire, and by break of day they saw the *English* under sail. They went on board them, and came to understand, that Captain *David* had taken a Ship called the *Saint Rose*, laded with Corn and Wine, bound from *Truxillo* for *Panama*; the President of which last place had sent to him for to buy her, and in order thereunto, gave him the meeting at the Isles of *Pericos*, that are a League's distance from the Port. But instead of sending him the Money they had agreed upon for the Ship, he sent a Fire Ship to burn him, but the same, through the Cowardice and Ignorance of the Commander, spent herself without doing the other any hurt; and thus made Captain *David* give the *Saint Rose* to *Groigniet* and to *l'Escuier's* Ships Crew, who had already lost their Captain.

As for the other five Ships commanded by *Brandy* namely, *Peter Henry*, and two Quarter-Masters they had been also taken from the *Spaniards* in these Seas by the two first Frigates, who reserved them for those who came thither over Land. Of all our Ships, there were none but the first that had Guns, the other eight had none, they having been Merchant Ships, that made use of none in the South-Sea, where no body but themselves had sailed a long time. And now having told you what passed before this Fleet came together; we shall now proceed to give an Account of our Adventure since our Junction.

On the twenty fifth of *April* we took an Advice Boat going to the Fleet of *Peru*, which was then at Anchor in the Port of *Callao*, that was carrying some Packets from *Madrid* to *Panama*, and Letters from the Vice-Roy of *Lima*, wherein there was an account given how many Men of War, Fire-Ships and Mer-

Merchant-men the Fleet consisted of, and about what time the same might arrive at *Panama*. Next day we examined the Commander of the *Advice-Boat*, but we could get no particulars out of him, saving, that when he saw himself like to be taken, he had thrown the King of Spain's Packets, and a Case of Jewels over-board.

On the twenty seventh we put the same Questions to the Pilot, who, according to the Example of his Commander, would make no Discovery, because they had taken an Oath together, rather to lose their Lives than to divulge any secret, or to let the said Packet fall into the hands of the *Free-Booters*. On the 28th two of our Men died.

On the Evening of the same day, we departed *Greeks* with two and twenty Canoes manned with five *bers*, who hundred men, in order to go and take *la Seppa*, they are. which is a small Town seven Leagues to windward of *Panama*; and on the twenty ninth about ten in the Morning we discovered two Ships bearing up to us, which when they came near, we found to be two Pirogues mann'd with *Greeks*, which are a People composed of divers Nations, to whom the *Spaniards* gave this Name, and who serve them in their Wars. These they brought some time before from the North Sea to this Coast, to defend them against us, because they look upon them to be better Soldiers than themselves. We presently sent out two of our best sailing Canoes manned with twenty Men each to attack them. These *Greeks*, who quickly took us to be really what we were, *i. e.* *Free-Booters*, made no delay to save themselves upon one of the Islands that stands in the Bay of *Panama*; but upon their going a-shore, they lost one of their Pirogues, that split in Pieces, and left us the other; then they got upon a rising Ground, with their Arms, and as much Ammunition as they could save, and fought stiffly against us under a Flag of Defiance. And as the place where we landed, was exposed to their Fire from the Ground where they had posted themselves, and that the Ascent on that side where we stood was very difficult, we were forced to take a great round to come at them another way, where

Beaten by  
the Free-  
Booters.



where we found our Passage much easier. At last after we had fought at least for the space of an hour we constrained them to flee for shelter into the Woods: we took two of them Prisoners, besides their Colonel, and found between five and twenty and thirty men upon the Spot.

We were informed by the two Prisoners, that those who had escaped, could not be above an hundred men at most, that we might easily make them if we pleased, there being many wounds amongst them: They also told us, that they had an Account at *Panama* of a Re-inforcement that was come from the North-Sea to the Fleet of the *Free-Booters*; That the President of the Town had thereupon sent an Advice-Boat to *Lima*, to engage the Vice-Roy to detain the Merchant Ships in Port, and with all speed to send a Fleet of Men of War to fight ours, and drive us out of the Seas: But the relation given by these two Prisoners we could not rely upon, since their Party had put up a Flag of Defiance, they being three times the number of us.

*The Bucca-  
neers take  
Seppa.*

After this Advantage, and our rejoyning the rest of our Canoes, we continued to prosecute our design upon *la Seppa*; But as we were obliged before we could come at it to go about two Leagues up a very high and large River of the same Name, and on whose Banks they have Vigies or Sentinels always set, we could not chuse but be discovered, and find the Town alarmed and ready to defend itself. Yet for all that, we fell furiously on, and took it with the loss only of one Man; but finding no great matter of Booty there, because they had saved most of their Effects, we returned to our Canoes again.

As I shall have frequent occasion to make mention of the Word *Vigie*, it will not be improper in this place to take notice, that by *Vigier* is no other thing meant, than to set a Sentinel upon Land or Sea: and those who are thus set, they call *Vigies*. The *Spaniards* maintain a great number of them for all their Cities, Towns, and Villages, and even single Houses have Persons on purpose, whom they send



led to all the rising ground round about, and  
River-Sides, where they have their Horses ready  
Night and Day, so that as soon as they discover an  
Enemy, they hasten to give the Spaniards notice of  
it; who forthwith prepare themselves not to fight,  
but to save their Effects.

On the first of May we rejoined our Ships, who  
waited for us at a very pretty Island, called *Sippil-*  
*la*, about a League distant from the Mouth of  
the River *la Seppa*, which makes up a kind of  
Canal, that forms the Bay of *Panama*, and do-  
es it were, make a Bar all along, that divides  
the Channel into two parts, one to the East and  
the other to the West. Those Pleasures we met with  
in these parts, justly deserve a Remembrance,  
whereof I shall give a little Description in this  
place.

I say then, that all these Islands are so curious and  
delightfull, that they are usually called the Gardens  
of *Panama*, and with very good reason, seeing  
all People of Note in that City, have each of  
them one of these Islands for themselves, and their  
houses of Pleasure there also, with curious Orchards,  
watered with a great many Springs of running Wa-  
ters, adorned and imbelished with a wonderfull  
variety of Flowers and Arbours of *Jessamine* up  
and down, and full almost of an infinite number  
of all sorts of the Fruits of the Country, among  
whom I have taken particular notice of four of  
them which are called *Sappota*, *Sappotilla*, *Avocata*,  
and *las Cayemites*.

The first is a Fruit almost like unto our Pears,  
of a different Size, whose Rine is Greenish, and con-  
tains in the midst thereof, two Kernels of an oval  
form, appearing pretty polished and sleek, and  
are each of them, in the largest of these Fruits, some-  
what bigger than an ordinary Nut: When this Fruit  
is ripe, it is very soft, and when the Paring is taken  
off, the Pulp is of a pure red Colour, very sweet,  
and of an admirable Taste.

The second is of the same form as the other, but no  
bigger than a Russet Pear: It has an admirable taste,  
and under the Rind is of a whitish Colour.

The

The third is of the same form as our Quince, saving that the Rind is greener: This fruit may be fully ripe, and very soft before it becomes good Food; and then it is that you find the Pulp of it as white as Snow: The *Spaniards* eat it with Sugar as we do Cream, and indeed the taste thereof is much by the same.

The fourth is like a large Damason, and very soury.

Besides these and a great many more, where with this Country is peculiarly blessed; it produces also a great many of those Fruits that are common to *Europe*, as Apricocks, Pomegranates, Goyaves, Juniper, Cocoe, Bananes, Figs of *Provence*, French and *Spanish* Melons, all sorts of Oranges, Citrons and Lemmons, of which I shall give no Description no more than of the Trees that bear them; But those who would satisfy their Curiosity herein, may find it in reading the History of the *Antilles* written by Monsieur de Rochefort, in the Year 1668, who was skilled therein, and gives a very good Account of them. All these rich Presents of Fruits and good Water, of which Nature made us an offer in these Islands, were a wonderfull Relief to us, after the Fatigues we had undergone in our Passage over the Continent: To say nothing of the plentiful Harvest we had of Maes and Rice, wherewith we found these Islands covered, and which the *Spaniards*, I believe did not sow with an intention we should enjoy them. But these same Islands that afforded us so many delights, wrought also afterwards some sorrow in us, which by and by.

On the eighth of May in the Morning we sailed away, and passed by the old and new City of *Panamá*; the old one was that taken by General Morgan in the Year 1670, whose Churches and Houses seemed to us to be finely built, as far as we could judge of them at such a Distance; there is none but the new Town that is fortified, being defended with a good Wall and several other Works, but that is only to the Sea-ward. This City is attended with an inconvenience, that as it is situated at the bottom of a Bay, and that the Sea ebbs very much in the

Country

Country, great Ships are left dry there, if they are nearer than a League to the place: We got as high it as we could with our Colours and Streamers loose, and from thence went to anchor at *Tavoga*, which appeared to us, as if it were a little enchanted Island, so agreeable and delightfull are those Houses and Gardens that are upon it.

On the ninth we caulked all our Ships, and next day sent out our long Bark to cruise, in order to give notice when the *Spanish* Fleet appear'd in sight of us, and on the thirteenth we made choice of those Ships that should engage it. Captain *David* and Captain *Grogniet* were to board the *Spanish* Admiral, Captain *Suam* and Captain *Townsley* the Vice-Admiral, Captain *Peter Henry* and one of *Townsley's* Prizes, the *Parach*; our Fire-ship was to keep herself under the Quarter of our Admiral. Our other Ships were to attack the rest of their Fleet according to their strength, and our armed Pirogues were to keep off the *Spanies* Fire-ships.

We heard this day a great many Cannon fired at us, the cause whereof we could not guess at; on the fourteenth we put ashore upon this Island of *Tavoga* forty Prisoners, who were very curious to us, and then weigh'd to go wait for the Fleet at *Cape Pin*: But this was much out of Season, since the Fleet, who was willing to spare us this trouble, as well as that of attacking her, was already, without our knowing of it, arrived at *Panapa*, having got in under the Covert of one of those *Islands*, through one of the two Channels which I said was formed by them, and which hid them from us while we cruised in the other Channel through which we thought they would have pass'd.

As we knew nothing hitherto of this matter, that upon the return of our long Bark, she told us she had discover'd no Ships pass, we went and anchor'd at *Kings-Islands*, where the whole Fleet took the usual Oath, that we would not wrong one another to the value of a Piece of Eight, in case God should please to give us the Victory over the *Spaniards*. On the seventeenth one of our Men died.

*The Free-Booters Voyage*

On the nineteenth we weighed and anchored between the great Island, and those in the East Channel, through which we thought the Fleet we expected would pass. On the twenty eighth another of our Men died. Next day we made ready, and sailed for Cape Pin. On the thirty first we gave chase to two ships, whom we lost in the night, and which brought us back in the pursuit of them to the little Islands of *Panama*, where we anchored on the first of *June*; and the same Day we surprized the *Greeks* upon the Island, where we had beaten them when we went to take *la Seppa*.

On the fourth we sent two Canoes to the Isle of *Sipilla*, to endeavour to take some Prisoners, that we might learn some News from them. There they took a Ship laden with Boards, which the *Spaniards* were carrying to *Panama* to build two Pirogues instead of those we had taken. The Men told us that their Fleet was got into *Panama* on the twelfth of *May*: That on the thirteenth they fired off a great many Guns for Joy, and that as soon as they were refreshed, careened, and manned, they would come out to fight us, and would be ready in a short time.

*They fight  
the Spanish  
Fleet.*

On the seventh at Noon, Captain *Groigniet*, who had anchored farther from the Island than we, gave us a Signal, that he descried the *Spanish Fleet* consisting of seven sail; and this he did by lowering and raising his Flag seven times: We also on our part made ready, and in doubling the point of the Island where we had anchored, we discovered seven great Ships coming up towards us, with a bloody Flag in the Stern, and a Royal one on the Masts. Now it was that the hopes which our Captain had lost, when they understood the Fleet was got into *Panama*, revived again, and the desire to had to enrich themselves at the others. Cost, estimated them to that degree, that most of them threw their Hats into the Sea, as thinking they had the *Spaniards* already in hold. We put our Ships in order, and then disputed the Wind with them, who was at that time got to the West. About three of the Afternoon we all, except Captain *Groigniet*,

the Weather-Gage of them, and he failed, because he waited for the coming up of his Canoe from the Shoar, and cast about twice. Our Admiral finding himself to Windward of the *Spanish* Vice-Admiral, who was separated from his own Admiral, gave us the Signal to follow him for to board him; in order to which, we lengthned our Sprit-Sail, but our Vice-Admiral took in his Flag, as a Token he would defer the Engagement till next Morning, hoping that *Groigniet* would get the Weather-Gage in the Night: Towards Sun-setting the *Spanish* Vice-Admiral, who was to Leeward of us, saluted us with seven Guns without Ball, which was answered by our Admiral with a whole Broad-side with Ball. But Night coming on, the *Spaniards* cast anchor, being better acquainted than we with the Currents that run between these Islands, and they sent a small Vessel, that carried the Lanthorn, to anchor two Leagues to Leeward of us, in order to amuse and cause us to take false measures; And indeed we lay all Night, that we might next Morning be to Windward of the Lanthorn, which we took to be the whole Fleet.

On the eighth early in the Morning, we discovered our Error, and were all of us strangely amazed to find our selves to Leeward of the Enemies Fleet, except Captain *Groigniet's* Ship, and that of Captain *Towneley*, and his Prize which were to Windward: but it unhappily so fell out, that they were Ships without Cannon: The *Spanish* Fleet having cast anchor again an Hour after Sun-rising, we did all we could to get the Weather-Gage, but their Vice-Admiral, who had his Anchor apeak, and his Sails but very slightly furled, quickly plyed to the Wind, which proving favourable to him, he bore immediately upon our Admiral. Our Vice-Admiral did all he could to come to his Assistance, for the *Spanish* Guns had already incommoded him very much; his coming up, obliged the Enemies Ship to bear to Windward, which we endeavoured to gain that day, though to no purpose; while the *Spaniards* in the mean while, under whose Cannon we had our selves, mauled us terribly, and this made

our Admiral and Vice-Admiral to keep close together, and to resolve to die valiantly fighting, rather than suffer any one Ship of the Fleet to be taken, though they could both of them have saved themselves if they pleased, they being much better Sailors than the Spaniards.

Captain Townsley towards the Afternoon being to Windward of the Enemies Fleet, sent his Pirogue on board our Admiral, to receive his Orders, while he that commanded it, had both his Legs shot off by a Cannon Ball. About two the Spaniards sent on a Ship of eight and twenty Guns to hinder Captain Groigniet to joyn us, as understanding by some Spaniards, who had been our Prisoners, that he was the strongest in small Arms of any in our Fleet, and that they were so much the more fearfull of him when they came to know his Crew consisted of Frenchmen. At last finding our selves towards Evening much battered with their Cannon (for the Spaniards would not come to boarding) we veered to the favour of a Gale of Wind, to go and board the Spanish Vice-Admiral, that was the best Sailer and did us most harm: But we were no sooner unmoored, than that the Wind came about, which did us much Damage, for we were just come upon the Enemies Ship, who not observing the Wind, which we sailed, bore still upon us, so far, that when we returned the second time, she was so near us, that she was constrained to furl the end of her main Sail, for fear of bringing her Fore-mast upon our Counter, and this made us put out our Cannons which were upon the Towe that we might go better, and in this manner we defended our selves till Night approached.

Peter Henry's Ship, wherein I was, having received above an hundred and twenty Cannon Shots was forced to make the best of her way, while the Admiral and Vice-Admiral perceiving, they put their Pirogues under sail, which they had all along proceeded to Windward during the Fight, in order to attend us, because they saw we were in an ill condition. The Enemy observing our working, sent one of their small Ships in pursuit of us, but as we

back upon her, she gave us eighteen Guns, and re-  
 ceiv'd their own Fleet.

Our Long Bark, having, during the Action, been  
 sorely handled; her Crew was forced to leave her,  
 and not having time to sink her, threw some Guns,  
 which our Admiral had put on board her, into the  
 Sea, and then saved themselves on board of one of  
 our other Ships. Now the *Spanish* Prisoners, who  
 we left behind, finding they were now at Liberty,  
 plied to put themselves into the hands of the *Spa-  
 nish* Admiral, but he taking this Bark for our Fire-  
 ship, sunk her with his Cannon before she came near  
 him, not thinking their own People were on board  
 her.

On the ninth we could see neither our own nor  
 the *Spanish* Fleet, which made us steer for the Isle  
 St. John de Cueblo, four and twenty Leagues to the  
 West of Panama, where, by the favour of an Easter-  
 ly Breeze, we arrived on the fourteenth; we ran  
 our selves presently a-shore, and it was high time,  
 for we had all along from the time of the Fight,  
 five Foot of Water in the Hold: We lost no time to  
 put our selves in a condition to get up again before  
 Panama, that we might know what became of our  
 Fleet, about which we were in great pain, which  
 we were put out of on the six and twentieth, when  
 we saw them coming to an Anchor in the same place  
 where we were, who told us they did not fight any  
 more after our Departure from them. That the  
*Spanish* Fleet upon the ninth in the Evening, had an-  
 chored within Cannon Shot of ours, and that both the  
 one and the other having made ready on the tenth,  
 the *Spaniards* sailed away for the Port of Panama;  
 that Captain David had been hard plied by the *Spa-  
 nish* Cannon, especially with two Shots that carried  
 off half his Rudder, but that he had no more than six  
 of his Ships Crew wounded, and only one killed; that  
 Captain Sammes was no less put to it, that almost  
 all his Poop was swept off, that he had received se-  
 veral Shots between Wind and Water, that his Mate  
 had his Head shot off with a Cannon Ball, and that  
 he had no more than three Men wounded: And that  
 in short, the other lesser Vessels had lost never a Man,



and had but very few wounded. Here I may truly say, and without exasperating the matter, that it was a strange thing and next to a Miracle, that we, who were so few in number, and had such pitifull Ships of our own, should be able to bear the Fire of, withstand and fight so considerable a Fleet, in comparison of our own, consisting of such good Ships, and manned so well as that of the *Spaniards* was, whose Admiral was a Vessel of seventy Guns, though she had but fifty six mounted, because she was too old. Their Vice-Admiral had forty, though she was bored to carry sixty Guns; she was a very fine Ship and an excellent Sailor, but also old. The *Parach* was a Vessel of forty Guns, though she had no more than eight and twenty mounted. The *Conserve* had eighteen Guns, but was built as well as the *Parach*, to carry forty. The other three were almost as big; besides they had the advantage of Fire-ships, on board of which they had planted Cannon, to the end that we might not take them to be really what they were, and that so they might come near, and the more easily surprize us, than if we were aware of them.

If we had met with this Fleet, as we were in hope we should, before they got an addition of strength in *Panama*; or that we had had but only the Weakness of them when we attack'd them, I do not question, but things would have appeared with another face than now they did, and that we should have possessed our selves of their Ships to bring us back through the Straights with Wealth enough to live at ease, which would have freed us all at once, after a continued Succession of Fatigues and Troubles, which we were forced to go through for three Years longer, as well in those Places, as in our return over Land to the North Sea, but Divine Providënce had otherwise ordered it.

On the twenty ninth we parted from the *Isla de St. John*, to the number of three hundred Men and five Canoes, in order to go and surprize the Town of *Pueblo Nuevo*, that was six Leagues off, thinking we should get some Provision there, whereof now we began to be in need. Being landed on the shore

first, we took a Sentinel, but another escaped, which was the occasion of our being discovered. We were obliged, in order to get at this Town, to go up a very fine River two Leagues, and to make use of the flowing of the Tide for that purpose; Before we came at it, we found a Retrenchment made for its Security, but ill guarded. The Town is none of the best situated, though it stands upon the River-side, being surrounded every way with Marshes: We found neither People nor Victuals there, and so we left it on the third of July; and next day as we returned with our Canoes to rejoin our Fleet, we gave Chase to a Bark, which we took, and on the fifth we got to our Ships.

The English and we had a difference in the Descent we made upon this Town, for they being more numerous than we, would take the advantage of us, and be Masters of the whole, and that so far, that Captain Townsley would have taken Captain Groignet's Ship away, which Captain Davidson had given him, and give him his own for her: But as he found he had to do with men, who though inferior in number, would not tamely be thus put upon, he was forced to give over his Pretensions; Yet we finding still that they continued to pretend to the same Dominion over us, we separated our selves from them to the number of an hundred and thirty Frenchmen without reckoning Captain Groignet's Crew, who were two hundred more, and after having banded our selves apart, we landed upon the Island.

One of the chief reasons that made us disagree, was their Impiety against our Religion, for they made no Scruple when they got into a Church, to cut down the Arms of a Crucifix with their Sabres, or to shoot them down with their Fusils and Pistols, bruising and maiming the Images of the Saints with the same Weapons in Derision to the Adoration we Frenchmen paid unto them. And it was chiefly from these horrid Disorders, that the Spaniards equally hated us all, as we came to understand by divers of their Letters that fell into our Hands, which I have got rendred into French, may be seen by and by.

*The English and French fall out and part.*

On the ninth the *English* weighed, and came anchor about five or six Leagues to Leeward of the place where we were building our Canoes, to fit up others for themselves in Lieu of those they had lost as well as we, during the Fight with the *Spanish* Fleet. We laid out for Trees fit for our purpose, and to that end went into a Wood, which in these parts grows near to the Sea, of which we chose the largest, which commonly are those Trees called *Mapou* and *Acajou*, and are withal very tender and easie to be wrought, among them we found some so large, that the single Trunk, after being hewn and made hallow, could carry fourscore Men.

While we were building our Canoes, a Centinel, whom we had set on a very high Tree growing on the Sea-side in our Island, as well for discovering, as the *English*, who knew we were employed about our Canoes, should come to take away our Ship, as to observe if any *Spanish* Ship should sail between the main Land and the Island whereon we were, came to tell us on the fifteenth, that he saw a Ship out at Sea, steering South-West and by West; which put us presently upon making ready to come up with her: We found her to be a small Vessel commanded by Captain *Willnet* an *Englishman*, whose Crew consisted of forty *English* and eleven *Frenchmen*, whom we had never heard any thing till now: They told us, they had a long time ago passed over Land into these Seas, and that lately they had taken a Ship laden with Corn out of the Port of *Sanfon*, which is on the Continent, and the place of embarking from *Guatimala*, thirty Leagues to the East of the Isle of *St. John*, and that going from thence towards the South-Coast, they understood that the Vice-Roy of *Lima* had sent a *Spanish* Fleet on purpose to chase and beat the *Free-Booters*, which gave them to understand there were others besides themselves in these Seas; and that upon the good News they were come in quest of us, in order to have a share in the taking of that Fleet, which they believed infallible, but that they understood, when they came before *Panama*, where they were in hopes to meet with us, that the fight was already over, and that we were

went to the Isle of St. John : The other *English*, who, as I have already said, were gone to anchor about five or six Leagues to Windward of us, had also sent out a Canoe to know what this Bark was, which came up with her as soon as we, and this made us very uneasy; for this Bark being laden with Provision, those *English* influenced these new Commers so far, that they took them to anchor in the same place where they were, except the eleven *Frenchmen*, who left them and staid with us.

This Island of St. John Cueblo is about twelve Leagues in Circumference, standing East and West, and North and South, five Leagues distant from the main Land, and separated by a narrow Channel (which is indeed no other than an Arm of the Sea running in between two Lands) It is not inhabited, very mountainous, full of Wood, and watered with very fine Rivers. It stands in no stead to the *Spaniards*, besides supplying them with Masts for their Shipping, which they have here in great abundance. When we stopt upon that Island, we were in hopes to have fared well, so well stocked it was with Deer, Monkeys, Agoutills, Lizards, and Banks full of Tortoises; but we were deprived of these Advantages by two Inconveniences we laboured under; The first whereof was, that the *English* in less than fifteen Days had made such a Destruction of these Tortoises, that but very few of them landed; The other respected our Hunting, which after we had followed for a few days at first, we were bound to decline; for having staid in this place longer than we designed, we were under a necessity of preserving our Powder for fear, should we have spent it, the *Spaniards* would have been quickly upon us, so that we staid a whole Month upon this Island to the number of three hundred and thirty Men of us with eating no more than two Tortoises in eight and forty Hours, and in seeking some Fruits in the Woods wherewith to subsist, and with the eating of which some of us died, as not knowing the Nature of them,

There

There are a sort of Serpents upon this Island, whose stinging is so dangerous, that if any one has not a certain Fruit by him, which he is to chew, and presently to apply to the Wound, there is no escaping present Death for him, as we found by Experience by some of our Men whom we lost in this manner, and who, in their dying endured terrible Pains through the Activity and Violence of that Fire which this Poison kindled in their Bodies. The Tree on which this Fruit grows, is to be found upon the same place, as well as in the other parts of this Country, being, as to its Leaves and Height very like our Almond-Trees; But its Fruit resembles Sea-Chestnuts, though its of a greyish Colour, and of a somewhat bitter taste, enclosing a whitish Almond in the midst thereof. Its chewed altogether before the Application is made, and is known by no other Name than the Serpents-Seed.

Here also about two or three Leagues up the Country, you have a great many *Caymans*, which are a kind of Crocodiles, that live both in the Sea, Rivers, and on dry Land, and are of that ravenous Nature, that some of our Men have been devoured by them.

On the seven and twentieth the *English*, who had left us, sent a Quarter-Master to us to know whether we would joyn our selves with them, as supposing they were too weak, to go and take the Town of *Leon*, on which they had formed a Design. And here we must acknowledge, that extream Misery is so terrible a thing, that it is almost impossible, when an opportunity presents it self of being delivered, that it should be let slip, notwithstanding all the Repugnancy of our Reason to the contrary. We had left the *English* by reason of their Impieties, which we could not endure, and now we were ready to comply with the Proposals they had made us of rejoyning them again. The Provision was on their side, and this was a charming Bait for People that were ready to perish with Hunger. We presently asked them for some Victuals; And as we had but one Ship that could not hold us all, that they should give us another, because we were not willing

willing to be dispersed on board their Ships, as before, but this they would not agree to. In the mean while as we were resolved not to recede here-from, Famine forced thirty of our Men to joyn themselves with the *English* as being unable to bear with the Fasts we were forced to keep. And on the fourth of *August* four of our Men died.

On the ninth, when we knew the *English* were gone, we embarked to the number of an hundred and twenty Men on board five Canoes commanded by Captain *Groigniet*, and left two hundred on board our Ship, and upon the Island, whom we ordered to build more Canoes, and afterwards to cross over to the Continent.

Having made a Descent there on the thirteenth, we came to an Hatto, which is a kind of a Farm, where the *Spaniards* breed their Cattle: It was in the Neighbourhood of a Town called *St. Fago*, which is twenty Leagues distant from *St. John's* Island. The People we found in this Hatto we made our Prisoners, among whom, was the Master, who shewed and conducted us to take a Sugar Plantation in the River of *St. Fago*, where we were discovered. We founded our Prisoners one after another in order to know whether they understood any thing of our Separation from the *English*, by telling them we came from the North-Sea; and that they should shew us where the *Free-Boaters* were, which they said were come into these Seas. They answered, they were gone to *St. John's* Island to repair the Damage the Fleet of *Pern* had done them, together with other Circumstances, which we knew better than they, without telling us one word of what had happened between the *English* and us: Hence we conjectured they knew nothing of the matter, and we could have been very well content that all the *Spaniards* knew as little as they, for fear our Disjunction might render them more forward to attack

After this Intelligence, we dispatch'd away a Canoe which we had taken in this River, to carry our Men some Victuals, which we had found in this Hatto, and to acquaint them, that we were going towards

wards *Panama*, to see whether we might meet with an opportunity of seizing some Barks, that so we might get out of *St. John's Islands*; Because, as I have already said, our Ship was not big enough to hold us, and that as soon as the Canoes were ready, they were to go and take *Pueblo-Nuevo*, in order to get some Provision wherewith to subsist till our return.

On the fifteenth we went a-shore forty Leagues to Leeward of *Panama*, and though we had no Guide, we got by Cock-crowing to a very pretty *Estancia* as they call it, which was a lone House, and where we took fifty Prisoners of both Sexes. Among these, there was a young Man and Woman of Quality, who promised we should have a Ransom for them, and whom we carried to the Island *Iguana*, a Leagues distance from the great one, and where there is no other but Rain-Water to be had, which stands in the Cavities of the Rocks.

We staid for the fore-mention'd Ransom till the eight and twentieth, when it was duly paid us, and then went off, being first informed, that about eight Leagues to Windward, there was a River, where were two Barks laden with Maes, which on the nine and twentieth in the Morning we boarded and took. From thence we resumed our Course to go and rejoyn our Men in *St. John's Island*, where we arrived on the third of *September*. Here they told us, that an Hundred of them, whereof ninety eight were come back, had gone on the five and twentieth of the preceding Month, to *Pueblo-Nuevo*, as we had ordered them, where they arrived on the seven and twentieth; and though they were discovered by the Centinels of the Town, they made themselves masters of it, and staid there two days for all the continual and various Attacks made upon them by the *Spaniards*. That the Commander of the place came with a Trumpet to speak with them, and asked, why they carried White Colours, seeing they were *Englifo* (so he took them to be) but without satisfying his Curiosity in the point, they constrained him to be gone from whence he came.



came. That eight of them being gone some distance from the place of Arms, there were two of the number massacred by an hundred and fifty Spaniards, who seeing so small a Company together, bravely fell upon them; But with all the advantage they had, they could not hinder the other six to recover their Main-guard, who fought retreating with extraordinary Vigour.

On the fourth we put out with six Canoes; and an hundred and forty Men on board, whereof we detached two to go to the Harro, we had taken on the eleventh of *August*, to look after the Ransom of the Master, whom we kept Prisoner, and with the other four returned to that Sugar-Plantation in *St. Fago*, in order to get some Sugar-Cauldrons, whereof we had occasion. There we were informed, that the Governor of *St. Fago* came thither after our Departure the first time we took it, with eight hundred Men. We staid in this place till the ninth, expecting the Answer of a Prisoner whom we had sent to the Governor, and by whom we sent him word, that if he were minded to advance with his eight hundred Men, we were ready; but hearing no news of him, we departed thence, after our two Canoes had rejoyned us; and on the eleventh arrived on board our Ship and the two Barks at the Island of *St. John*.

On the fifth we carreened our Ships and took in Water and Wood; we would have left this Island, had it not been for the continual Rains that fell and lasted eighteen days, and such bad Weather, that it was impossible for us to appear upon Deck, having never seen the Sun all this time: And for this reason it is, that the Spaniards call the distance between the Bay of *Gurgona*, and this Island of *St. John*, *The Droppings of the South-Sea*. You have but four Months of good Weather here throughout the Year, and they are *December, January, February, and March*; the other eight Months are incommoded with great Rains, which falls almost without any Intermission, and which besides the bloody Flux it brings, is so pernicious, that if a Man has been wet with it two or three times, if he do not presently

sently shift himself, it breeds large Worms between his Skin and his Flesh, in form somewhat like unto a Quill, and about half a finger long.

The Weather clearing up, on the fourth of October, we mended our Sails, which were almost rotten, and made ready to be gone. And the same Day we had one of our Men stung in the Leg by a Serpent, who died of it presently, as not having taken care to provide himself with the remedy we have spoken of.

On the eighth we made ready and sailed for *Realleguo*, which is both a Port and Town an hundred and fourscore Leagues to the West and by North West of the Isle of St. John, and two hundred and fixty West of *Panama*. We had a small South East Wind till the eleventh, and on the twelfth and thirteenth we steered West North West, and that Evening descryed Land. On the fourteenth we had a boisterous South Wind, which made us take in all our Sails, till Mid-night, and then came a Calm, till the seventeenth, when towards Noon we were surprised with a South West Blast, attended with great Rains, which separated us from our two Barks: It blew so very hard, that the Sea appeared presently very frightfull, and put us so to it, that we began to be very apprehensive we should be all cast away. But the Weather, (as God would have it) proving fair again, we spent the nineteenth to set our Vessel in order, as well as to mend our Sails with our Shirts and Drawers, wherewith we were already but very indifferently provided. Towards Evening we discovered Land, and knew it to be the Bay of *Caldaira*, whereof I shall give an account by and by. On the twentieth we sailed in sight of that of *Colebra*; from thence we had moderate Weather, and a South-East Wind; and on the one and twentieth we got to the Height of the *Moris*, which the Spaniards call *Papegaya's*.

On the two and twentieth we found our selves over against *Realeguo*, a place very remarkable for the high Mountains that surround it; and especially for a high Sulphurous Hill that burns continually, and whose Smoak reaches a great way, but the Tides next Night put us twenty Leagues to Windward of it. On the four and twentieth we put out four Canoes with an hundred men in them, in order to take some Prisoners, that we might receive some Information concerning this Coast, where we never were before.

On the five and twentieth we put to the Shoar and landed, and after a March of three Hours, came to an Hatto, where we surprized the People, who gave us to understand, that the *English* had taken the Town of *Leon*, and burnt that of *Realeguo*: That the Inhabitants of *Legoria*, *Granada*, *Sanfonnar*, *St. Michell*, *St. Salvador*, and *Villa-Nueva*, which are Neighbouring Towns to the two fore-mention'd ones, had sent a considerable Re-inforcement of Men to those of the Town of *Leon*, who yet durst not attack the *English*, who staid there three whole days; during which time they had sent several Messages to these Re-inforcements to require them to fight in the *Rare Savana*, which the other still refused, saying, they were not yet all come together, that is, that they were hitherto no more than six to one, and that they staid till they were doubly increased.

On the six and twentieth, one of our Quarter-Masters, who was a *Catalonian* by Birth, fled to the *Spaniards*, which hindred us at this time from going to take the Town of *Granada*, of which I shall speak in its due place, for we did not doubt, but that he had given them an account of the Design we had formed upon that place.

One of the Bucca-neers Quarter-Masters deserts to the Spaniards.

On the seven and twentieth we went on board our Canoes again, and made for the Port of *Realeguo*, where the Rendezvous of our Ship was to be: We could land no where all along the Coast, because the

the Sea breaks with so much Violence there, when 'tis a Southerly Wind, that it is impossible to come near it. However six of our Men swum with a design to fill some Casks with Water, which we were in want of, but they could not do it, for the *Spaniards* followed us by Land all along the Bank, and so it fell out, that one of our Men was unfortunately drowned.

On the first of *November* we arrived at the Port of *Realeguo*, where we found our Ship at Anchor. There are two Passages to this Port, whereof that to Windward is best. It's very narrow, and besides this, has two *Mornes* or little Mountains, that form the two points thereof. Upon one of which the *Spaniards* had a design to build a Fort. There is a very fine River runs into this Haven, that bears the same Name with the Town. It's safe from any Winds, and contains within it five Islands that are very good to carreen Ships in; there are but three Leagues from thence up the River before you come at the Town: But before we got there with our Canoes, we met three very strong Retrenchments that had been made for its Security upon the River's side, about a Quarter of a League distant one from another, and which the *English* had half burnt. About a Musket Shot from the Town, the *Spaniards* had very fine Docks, where they build their Ships. It's washed with this River, and stands in a very fine Country, water'd with several other Rivulets; and both its Churches and Houses, though then half burnt, appear'd to us to have been beautifull enough. We are also farther to take notice, that that River we have spoken of, has eight Arms, by which you may conveniently convey any thing to the Villages, Sugar-Plantations and Hatto's, whereof this Country is full, and which belongs to the Burghers as well of this Town as of the neighbouring ones, of which *Laon*, that is not above four Leagues off, is situated in a very curious Plain. On the second we went to take two of those Hatto's, from whence we carried some Victuals on board for those who were carreening our Ships.

On the 7th. we departed to the number of an hundred and fifty Men, to go and seize the Sentinels of the Town of Leon, and having surprized them on the eighth, they informed us there were two thousand men in the Place, who yet not trusting to their numbers, had taken all their moveables, and carryed them to a place of safety. We returned on Board on the ninth, and next day set out to go to a great Sugar-Plantation, two Leagues distant from the City, where we arrived at Midnight, but found no Soul living there, the People being gone for their security to the Town, upon the report that was spread abroad, that we had taken some Sentinels. But as we were upon our return from this Sugar Plantation to go on Board again, our Van Guard met with a Detachment of Horse, upon whom they fired, and made them fly, but the Captain was made a Prisoner, who upon our questioning of him, told us, that he had heard of us a long time since, but not knowing what Language we spoke, we had been taken for a Company of two hundred and fourscore *Mulatos*, who were looking out for us, knowing we were ashore, and who would have taken that Sugar Plantation that Evening; we asked the Captain what they were he had headed, and he answered they were a Troop of Horse who guarded the Embarking Place belonging to that Sugar Plantation, so that the Governour of the Town coming to know we were come to the Port of *Realguo*, had given them orders to retire in such a manner, as gave us to understand that our Enemies kept a very good Guard, when they had nothing to be afraid of, and that they would run off as soon as ever they saw us near, and in effect, we found them to be exactly the very same as represented to us: For surely if they had had but any thing of Resolution and Courage, being as numerous as they were in respect to us, they could have easily cut us off, as often as we made any descent upon them, and thus many times we found our Safety to proceed from their Cowardice, as much as from our own Courage.

On the 13th, the same Company of an hundred and fifty Men, left our Vessels to go take a Burrough Town two Leagues above the City of *Realguo*, whose Name was *Pueblo Viejo*; we passed through this Place, which we found to be quite deserted by its Inhabitants, because of the Excommunication they had thundered out against themselves.

D

Some

*An odd way  
of Excom-  
munication  
among the  
Spaniards  
of America*

*The Free-  
booters  
take Pue-  
blo Viejo.*

*An amuse-  
ment of the  
Spaniards.*

Some perhaps will be surprized to hear of this extravagant humour, but there is nothing truer, then that when the *Free Booters* have several times taken the same place from them, their Prelates after excommunicating and cursing the same, quit it entirely, and will not bury even their Dead whom we killed, as supposing them for the foresaid Reason unworthy of Christian Burial. On the 14<sup>th</sup>. in the Morning we arrived at *Pueblo Viejo* from whence their Sentinels had discovered us since the 13<sup>th</sup>. in the Evening, so that we found the Enemy entrenched in the Great Church, and about an hundred and fifty Horse upon the place of Arms. We presently fell to work, and after some Discharges, we put them to flight, but those that were within the Church, held out about half an hour longer, and then made their escape through a door that was behind the Vestry which we had not secured. We staid a day and an half in that place, and carryed away all the Provisions we could lay hands on, upon the Horses which we had, and our own Backs, and on the 16<sup>th</sup>. arrived on Board our Ship. On the 18<sup>th</sup>. we returned to take an *Estanda*, which was a League and an half from the said Town, and the Man whom we took Prisoner told us, that the day we were away, six hundred Men lay in Ambush for us, on the way by which we were to pass; but that when we knewing it, we had returned by a different Road. On the 21<sup>st</sup>. we went on Board with our Prisoner, who promised us some Provision for his Ransom; and the day we put another Prisoner ashore to endeavour to procure it us with all Expedition.

On the 24<sup>th</sup>. came a *Spanish* Officer, who brought a Letter from the Vicar-General of the Province, (and all appearance) by order of the General of *Guatemala*, who sent us word there was a Peace made between the Crowns of *France* and *Spain* for twenty years, that they were joyned together to make War upon the *Infidels*. That therefore we ought to commit no farther Hostilities, and that if we had a mind to return to the *North Sea*, we might come safely unto them, and have our passage into *Europe* in his Catholick Majesties Gallies: We gave them an answer suitable to the Proposal, being well enough acquainted with the Disposition of the *Spaniards* towards us, who by a false pretence, thought to have seduced us to come

more readily among them; who understood the extreame Misery we had endured, by one of our People of whom we made mention before, and who ran away to them to be freed from the long fasts he was forced to with

On the 24<sup>th</sup>. we careened our Ships, and the next day put thirty Prisoners ashore, part of whom we gave their Liberty to, and on the 28<sup>th</sup>. we made ready to return and go in quest of our two Barks whom we had appointed to rendezvous at the Isle of St. John de Cuello, in case we were separated from one another. As we were going out of the Port, the Spaniards gave notice by the Fires they made all along the Coast, what Course we steered. On the 3<sup>d</sup>. of December, we found our selves got above an hundred Leagues out at Sea, whilst our *North-East* Broeze had driven us; we bore again towards Land, and on the fifth went ashore; We sent three Canoes furnished with seventy Men, to cross the bay of Colbra, and to endeavour to get some Provisions along the Coast, as also to discharge our Ships of so many Months, there being but too little Victuals left for those who remained behind, and who went to the Isle of St. John. For as to the Provision, we were able to get together, while we were ashore in the Port of Realeguo, there was no great quantity of it, for the Spaniards knowing of our coming, had carried it up far into the Country, whither we durst not go and fetch it with our Men as we had with us, as not being yet sufficiently acquainted with their Cowardice.

From Realeguo to Panama, there are a great many little Rivers which you must be well acquainted with before you can find them, for the Mouth of them is very narrow, and if you once do miss them, its absolutely impossible to get ashore along the Coast, the Sea being always boisterous, and very high upon the blowing of the least South-East and South-West Winds upon

I have observed this difference betwixt this Sea and that of the North, that let the Wind be never so violent, A Remark as ever it ceases, the Sea proves as calm as if it had never blown, whereas in the other, for all the Wind difference he-  
lled, it continues several days in the same violent North and  
ation, as when it blew hard. I have also taken no South Seas  
that the windy Storms that are formed to Issue



ward, are much more dangerous in the former, than those that come from the Windward; but in the other, to the contrary, where a Ship generally esteems not her self to be in danger, but from those that arise to Windward of her, at leastwise, if the Wind be not subject to a very great Variation; to which we may add one difference more, that the *South Sea* is pacifick enough upon the main, and very turbulent upon the Coast, and That of the North oftentimes very impetuous far out, and almost always calm near the Shoar.

The *South Sea* breeds in divers parts of it a very great number of Serpents, in colour like spotted Marble, and are generally about two foot long; their sting is of a venomous and killing Nature, that when a Man is once stung by them, there is no humane Remedy that can secure him from a sudden Death, and that which is indeed very surprising, in regard to these Creatures, is that when the Sea by the boisterousness of its Waves throws them upon some Bank or other, though they do not go out of the Water, yet they do sooner touch the Sand, but they presently dye.

On the Ninth, having still kept our course along the Coast, we put fifty Men in three Canoes ashore, to go and take the Town of *Esparso*, which is three Leagues from *Caldaira*, and is the place that serves for a Port; it; we took the Sentinells about the third Part of the way, who told us, that besides the Inhabitants of the Town, there were five hundred Men whom they had sent for, to come to their Assistance from *Carthage*, upon the Alarm given them by our two Barks that had anchored in this Bay, from which they were but just gone. Upon this Intelligence, we bethought our selves, considering the smallness of our Number, to put off this Expedition to another time, and so returned with all speed, but in such want of Provision, that we were forced to kill and eat the Centinels Horses, after four days abstinence; and this sort of Fasting, which was not the first that we had used, did not prove to be the last.

A description of the Bay of *Caldaira*.

*Caldaira* is a Bay that bears the name of six Mountains that stand about three Leagues to the East of the Mouth of it, and upon the Bank of the place of anchoring belonging to *Esparso*: This Bay, which by Geographers is called *Nigra*, is one of the finest

in the World; though the mouth of it be large, yet in less of that, it is at least a dozen Leagues within Land, and comprehends a great many Islands of different sizes within it; there is none but an *Easterly* Wind that can hurt it; the bottom of the Bay is open, by means of several Rivers that run into it, and by which you may ascend to several Villages, Hattos and Sugar Plantations, whereof this Country is full. You may choose your place of Anchorage, according to the length of the Cable, that is from six Fathom, increasing to any Hundred, and the bottom is very good: I forgot to observe that the six *Sagaries* of *Caldaira*, whereof I have spoken, were built by the Inhabitants of *Carthage*, who make use of that for their Port, for facilitating the Traffick they drive with those living on the Coast of *Peru*, before we came to terrifie them.

Having on the 10th. gone on Board our Canoes, we went to a great Bananery that stood in the same Bay; its full of Fruit Trees which they call Bananiers, and the fruit thereof Bananies, with which we loaded our Canoes for our subsistence. As we went ashore, we took the Centinel of the little Town of *Nicoya*, from which finding our selves at some distance, we did not then think it to go up to it, and so we directed our Course for *Point de la*, where we arrived on the fourteenth: That is a very pleasant and delightful place, and among other things, we could not but admire a walk consisting of five rows of Coco-Trees that run along the Bank for above seven Leagues in length, and that in so orderly a manner, that though the same be no more then the bare work of Nature, without any additional help from Art, they seem as if they had been all planted on a Line.

This Fruit, which upon several occasions was so detrimental to us, grows upon the stock of a Tree, that is a kind of Palm, twenty or five and twenty Foot high: Its fruit is a Nut, but without making any Comparison of the weight of it, for there are some of these Fruits that weigh twelve or fifteen Pounds, the Shell is very hard, and thick enough; its wrapped up in a kind of thick covering made up all of Filaments, with which the *Spaniards* use to caulker their Ships, it being much better then tow, which rots in the Water in less then an Years time, whereas the other is fed by it and waxeth Green. If you bore an hole in this Nut, there runs out a quantity

## 'The Free Booters Voyage'

of greenish Liquor, which somewhat resembles the colour of Whey, but of a sharpe taste, and pleasant enough, and when the Shell is broken, we find under it a Kernel, or what is equivalent thereto, of the thickness of a Mans Finger, very white and nourishing, which sticks very close to the inside. We left this place on the twentieth, keeping our Course still all along the Continent.

On the 22d. having no Victuals to eat, we put ten Men in our three Canoes ashore, to go seek some for us, and after travelling the space of a League, we took a very curious Hare, with two Prisoners, who told us we were within a League and an half of the little Town of *Chiriquita*, and that there were six hundred Men in it, which made us seize with all expedition upon as much Victuals as we could, to carry it to the place where we had left our Canoes, but in our return thither we found four hundred Horse in the way whom we fought with all along retreating, till we came to the Sea-side. They challenged us again and again, and defied us in threatening Language to go to their Town, which we did not fail to do some days after. In the mean time we set away for the Isle of *St. John*, where arriving on the first of *January* 1686, we found our Ship and two Barkes at Anchor.

### C H A P. III.

## 'The Free Booters Voyage to the South Sea'

1686.

ON the fifth of *January*, in the New Year, we parted with the number of two hundred and thirty Men in eight Canoes, to go and face the Towns-men of *Chiriquita*, and to give them the Visit they had desired of us. And so it was, that this Island of *St. John* being about twenty Leagues from them, we went ashore on the sixth, about ten or eleven a Clock at Night, without being discovered, but as we had no guide with us we marched on till day light without seeing any Body. We hid our selves on the seventh, all the day in a Wood, but as soon as night approached, we came out and pursued without discovering any body, till the eighth in the Morning.

and when we concealed our selves again in another small Wood, and spent all the day in that place, during which time we came to know that we had mistaken our measures, by going ashore on that side of the River, whereas we should have gone on the other: This was cold comfort to people so fatigued as we were; however as soon as it was Night, we made no more ado, than to return to our Canoes, wherein we passed that River: when we were got on the other side, we took the Town-Watch, by whom we were informed, that the Spaniards had conveyed away all their effects, upon our being at their Houses.

On the 9th. we got to Chiriquita two hours before day, we surprized all the Inhabitants who were for two days at variance with one another, about going the rounds, and after we had secured our Prisoners, we told them that belonged to us, and that we were come to free them the Labour: We surprized also their Court of War, where they were at play, and as soon as they saw amongst them, they flew to their Arms to defend themselves, but as it was a little too late, we eased them of that trouble also. Of them we learnt, that there was a small Frigate up the River, which having touched in going out upon a Bank of Sand, that lay at the mouth thereof, was forced to go back, and so put the Provision which was her lading ashore.

About two in the Afternoon we perceived some Spaniards in a House at some distance from the Town, which made us send five of our Number to fetch them out, and when we drew near, those whom we had seen, having shewed themselves for no other purpose then to draw us out, disappeared, and presently about an hundred and twenty more came out of a little pool where they had concealed themselves, and beset us in such a manner, that finding no likelyhood of escaping, we resolved never to be taken alive, but to sell our Lives as dear we could; to which end we immediately stood back to back, that we might face the Enemy every way, and in this posture we fought them above an hour and a half, at the expiration whereof there being no more than two of us in a condition to fight, God was pleased that some of our Men who were upon the Guard should come to our Relief, being driven thither by the Firings, for they thought before they heard these Cryes, that we

were exercising our selves in shooting at a Mark: When the Enemy saw this Reinforcement come, they made such haste to go away, that it was impossible to overtake them: this succour coming in so seasonably, did infallibly save our Lives, for the Enemy having already killed us two Men, and disabled another, it was impossible we should hold out against such a shower of Bullets as were poured in upon us from all sides, and so I may truly say, I escaped a scouring, who could not be kept from being murdered, and that without receiving as much as one Wound, thro' by a visible hand of protection from Heaven. The *Sasind* deliv'd thirty Men dead upon the spot, and thus we defended our selves to desperate Men, and to say all in a word, like Free Booters.

They burnt  
it.

We burnt all the Houses in the Town this day, but under the Cover of them, our Sentinels might be surprized, and that the Enemy might come to insult us in the Night: when we had so done, we retired into the great Church, where they durst not come to attack us, but contented themselves to give us some Musket shot from time to time, and that from a great distance.

Chiriquita  
described.

*Chiriquita* is a small Town that stands in a Plain of *Enanas*, from whence the sight is bounded almost every way with no other than small, but very pleasant Hills: There are several Rivulets that traverse it in divers places, and afterward gently glide into these Seas to water them. It is surrounded with a great many Hutts, and they drive no other Trade, but in Tallow and Leather: the Port or embarking place belonging to it is on a pretty large River, from whence you must sail about a League to come at it. There is but one way to come in at its Mouth, and the *Spaniards* themselves without a *Buoy* will not venture to enter it; there are three Leagues by Land from this embarking place to the Town, and that through so pleasant a way, that not but such as we were, could be weary of it, who had no other thoughts then to get Victuals to satisfy our hunger which bore hard upon us, when we were going to take this Town; having eaten nothing from the Fifth, when we left our Vessels, till the Ninth, that we took it.

On the 14th. we left the place, taking our Prisoners along with us, to wait for the ransoming of them upon an Island that is within the same River, making choice of these places for that purpose, than of the Coast, and where being obliged for a long time to stay for the Money, we should give the Spaniards thereby an opportunity to gather all their force together, and to join us all at once, by overpowering us with Numbers, whereas these Islands to which they could not come any other way, then in Shalloops, and that openly, put us out of the way to comeback according to the measures they took by Land. When therefore we returned to our Canoes, which waited for us at the Port of *Chiriquia*, we found the Inhabitants of that Town had laid an Ambuscade for us, but we beat them off, and after the Enemy had retired, they sent us a person to demand their Prisoners, whom they said they would recover or perish in the attempt. We told the Messenger we were very ready to give them up, if they would come and meet us in the back Savana to take them, and that if they fired one single Bullet at us, they should have no quarter, which so humbled their Pride, that we saw no more of them.

As soon as we were got to the forementioned Island, we sent part of our Canoes to look after the Cargo of a small Frigate which the Spaniards of *Chiriquia* gave information of; where they found above an hundred Men intrenched; but they could not hinder our Men from possessing themselves of what they went in search for. Among the Baggage they found some Letters, that among other things gave us to understand, that the Admiral of the Peru Fleet who was returned to *Lima*, had been sent with all his Crew, which was at that time four hundred Men, by a Thunderbolt, and this was so much the more surprising and admirable, that no Man living could remember to have heard any Thunder in that Country, no more then to have seen it Rain.

On the 16th. The Ransom for our Prisoners came, and after we had set them at liberty, we returned aboard our Ship, which rid then at Anchor at *St. John's* Island. On the 20th. we concluded among our Selves, it was necessary we should build large Pirogues, seeing we could make no farther use of our Ship, for want of Sails, and we had nothing left to make them with, and still were less able to take Ships from the Spaniards, on this

this Western Coast, where they had put an entire stop to their Navigation, since we were come thither. On the 23<sup>d</sup>. we made choice of tall Trees to make our Canoes and Pirogues of, upon the Banks of a curious River, which we knew to be in the Island.

On the 27<sup>th</sup>. we deserv'd eleven sail of Ships out of Sea, which made us fit out five Canoes to go and see what they were, and as we doubled one of the Points of the Island, we discerned twelve Pyrogues, and two long Barks, who coasted it all along. We took them presently to be the Fleet of Peru, that was come in quest of us; we gave our Men notice of it without delay, and at the same time, resolv'd to put all we had on board our Ship, into our Bark, and to go into that River where our Docks were, there to wait the coming of our Enemy, where they could not come to attack us, without losing a great many Men. This project we put forthwith in Execution, and after we had abandoned our Ship, which could not be brought into that River, we ran to anchor, lest the Spaniards should have any Benefit of it, and put her into a sailing Condition, being very well assured of our Selves, that they did not want Sails, nor did see that purpose.

On the 28<sup>th</sup>. our Sentinels came to give us Notice, that six Pyrogues ply'd along the Shoar, which made us at the same time put an hundred and fifty Men to lay an Ambush on both sides the River, and then we set out with two of our Canoes, from whence after we had seen them, we feigned to run away by going back, to engage them to give us chase; But they suspecting a snare in the case, bore directly upon our Ship that was run aground, upon which they fired very successfully, though there was none left within it but only a poor Car, which they perceiving, they bravely board'd and burnt her, for the sake of the Iron-work that belonged to her, which is a Commodity as rare as dear in some parts of Peru. On the first of February the Spanish Fleet sail'd away, and left us at ease to finish our Work, upon which we spent the remainder of the Month.



We understood afterwards that the Admiral of this Fleet had orders to put some Field-pieces ashore to demolish those Fortifications which they thought we had made upon the Island, being induced to believe it was so, by the report the Prisoners, which we sent them, made of our Intentions. We to impose upon them, having asked whether there were any Malons among them that could do our Work, and sometimes obliged them to give a Bribe for their Ransom, though we had no need of them: there were no less then fourteen of our Men dyed in the Month of February.

On the 14th of March we departed from the Isle of St. John with our two Barks, an half Galley of 40 Oars, a great Pyroque, and ten small Canoes, all built of Rapou-Timber, except our two Barks; we gained the Windward point of the Island to take a review of our Men, and found our Selves weaker by no less then thirty Persons, since our separation from the English: But we formed a design anew, at the same time which had been put by for above four Months, which was to go and take the Town of Granada, distant now from us, about two hundred Leagues. To effect this Work, it was necessary we should be furnished with Provision where- with to subsist us during the Voyage, and we having done this made us send away our half Galley and four Canoes, to seek for some at Pueblo Nuevo while the rest of the Company went to carry for us at the Isle of St. John, which is two Leagues to Windward of the River of St. John, and to finish somewhat that was still wanting in the compleat Equipement of our Canoes.

On the 6th of April, about three hours before day-break, we were got near to the River of Pueblo Nuevo, *They fight the Spaniards by Sea.* by a clear light of the Moon we discerned a small Boat at its Mouth, as also a long Bark, and a Pyroque. We came within Pistol shot of them, as supposing them to be our English Privateers, from whom we had separated. But we found our selves quickly mistaken, for after we had hailed them, they answered us with an entire Volley of great and small shot, which made us now conjecture that they were, and it was too true, a detachment sent by the Spanish Fleet in that place, when they left us at St. John's Island, as a guard to two small Ships, which we knew they were lading with Provisions at the Port of this Town, in order to transport the same to Panama,

*name.* Our mistake was the reason that we had twenty Men disabled to fight by this first Discharge of the Enemy, before we knew well where we were; but after we were a little recovered out of the surprize this adventure put us to, we fought them stily for the space of two hours, though we had the use of no other Arms than our Fuzers, and not one Cannon to discharge upon them; And they on their part defended themselves so much the more vigorously in that they believed, we, after such a surprize as we had been exposed to, would quickly slacken our Courage and give way. They did all they could to make ready during the Fight, but we hinder'd them, and no Man could appear in the Shrou, but we brought them down, as well as their Granades from their Round Tops. But finding the light of the Moon now gone, we put off out of the reach of their Cannon, as well to take care of our wounded Men, which amounted to thirty three, besides four who were killed our right, as to wait for day light, in order to terminate this Affair, which we were not willing to leave undecided. But the Enemy did in the mean time retire under the covert of a Retrenchment, which I have said already, they had upon the Banks of this River, where the Country People who had heard the noise of the Fight in the Night, were also come, which made us conclude, that if we went to attack them in that place, we could not have that advantage there, we were resolved to take of them; So upon approach of day, we steered our Course to go and rejoyne our Canoes at the Isle of St. Peter, where we arrived on the Eighth.

On the ninth we found our Selves in great want of Victuals, having now nothing at all to eat, and this put us hard to it, more especially our wounded Men, whom we sent by our half Gally, (for their better conveyance) on board our two Barks, whom we had appointed to Rendezvous in the Bay of Boca-del-Toro. When this was done, we went alhoar to a Town ten Leagues Leeward of *Chiriquita*, where finding none, we left, and on the Eleventh in our return to our Canoes, we found, in order to strengthen us under the languishment which Hunger had reduced us to, a regale of an Ambulcade of five hundred Men laid for us, against whom for all our weakness we made so good a defence, that we obliged them to leave us free Passage, but yet not with-

but the loss of two of our Men. We went on Board in the Evening, to go join our Barks in the Bay of *Boca-del-Tiro*, where we arrived the thirteenth, and went ashore; spending our Time to the sixteenth in hunting more especially for the subsistence of our wounded Men, and here we found the same sort of Deer and Birds, as I have taken notice of in our passage over the Continent, in great plenty.

On the same day we departed for the Bay of *Caldasia*, after having renewed our Entreaty upon the little Town of *Leopardo*, of which I have already spoken. On the 19th. being arrived in the Bay, we went ashore two hours before Day light, and reached the Town; About eleven in the Morning, we found the place was in a manner intirely abandoned from the time we had taken the Sentinels, who, as I have already observed, diverted us from going thither by the account they gave of the reinforcement that was come to them from *Carthago*: However we took some Prisoners, who told us all the people were retired to this last Town, which is four and twenty Leagues off; so that finding our endeavours all frustrated, we returned on the 20th. to the Sea side to join our Canoes.

*Leopardo* is reckoned to be three Leagues distant from the Sea-side, and the way thither very bad, you cannot travel the length of a Gun-shot in even Ground, but the land is every where rugged, and full of little Mountains and Hills, though beyond them the Country appears to be very good and delightful. The Town is built upon an Eminence, from whence one may easily see all that comes in and goes out of the Bay; This Town is in a manner encompassed with a Rivulet that runs round it: Between it and *Carthago*, are very curious Ruins, with royal ways made through them, and that as well as any in *Europe*.

On the 21st. we victual'd our selves with the Fruit of a Mananery in this Bay, wherein our two Barks came to join us, and next day we summoned our People ashore upon this Island as well to consult how we should attack the Town of *Granada*, which we had a design upon; as to take an account of what powder they had, as fearing many of them might use it in hunting: Here we enacted orders whereby those were condemned to lose their share of the Booty got in the place, that should be found guilty of Cowardice, Violence, Drunkenness, Disobedience,

ence, Theft, and straggling from the Main Body without orders. When this was over, we left the Bay the same Evening, and a strong Easterly Wind surprizing us in the Night, separated our Vessels from one another. At break of day, we told thirteen Sail, wherewith we were amazed, knowing we had no more than a dozen, and this made us give our Canoes the signal to chase, as well as we, that Vessel that did not belong to us, but when we had continued the chase for about an hour time, we perceived five more, and having come up with the foremost, we understood 'twas Captain Townsend's one from the Coast of *Acapulco*: He had left his Ship at the Cape, over against the mouth of the Bay, where it had been, and went with his five Canoes to find out some Bananes, having very little Provision on Board. He told us that Captain *Dread*, with his Fleet was on the Southern Coast, and that Captain *Smash* with his Ship was gone to the East Indies.

*The French oppress the English in their turn, but agree again*

We finding our selves now to be the stronger Party, called to mind their former imperious dealings with us, and to shew our Resentment of it, we made him and his Men who were in the other four Canoes Prisoners. We boarded his Vessel immediately, of which having made our selves Masters, we made a sham of taking away, but our design being only to frighten them, we left them for some time under the apprehensions of what they were in. Then we let the Captain know we were honest Men then he, and that though we had the upper hand, yet we would not take the Advantage of avenging the Injuries they had done us, and that we would put him and his Men in possession of what we had taken from them four or five Hours before. This moderation which we exercised towards them, together with their being informed by some of our Crew, of a design we had upon the Town of *Granada*, engaged them to us, so that we would take them in to be our Associates in the Enterprize, and they being an hundred and fifteen in number, we readily consented to such a Reinforcement as must needs be useful to us.

On the 15th we departed all together French and English in our Pirogues and Canoes, leaving their Ship and our two Barls under the covert of Cape *Blanc*, which is twenty Leagues to Windward of the place where we were to go ashore, and gave orders to those that were

appointed

appointed to guard them, to sail away six days after, and to coast it till they came to an Anchor, at the place where we should leave our Canoes.

On the 7th of April we went ashore on a flat Coast, to the number of three hundred and forty five Men, under the conduct of a very good Guide, who lead us cross a Wood that we might not be discovered. We marched all Night and Day till the Ninth, but notwithstanding all the precautions we took, we could not hinder our being discovered by the Inhabitants of the Town of Granada, who were fishing in a River about fifteen Leagues off, and though they made all the hast they could to advertise the Spaniards of our March, they could not have been there soon enough to have given the People Notice to remove all their effects, considering the expedition we used to follow them, had not they (unhappily upon our account) notice given them of us three weeks before by the Inhabitants of Lessase, who having seen the great number of Canoes we had, as we passed by there, grew suspicious of our design.

The fatigue we had undergone during our March, together with the sharp Hunger that pressed us, obliged us to halt and rest the Ninth in the Evening in a great Sugar Plantation, that is about four Leagues distant from Granada, and was in our way thither. It belonged to a Knight of St. James's, who upon our arrival, we failed to take Prisoner, our Leggs being at that time much more disposed to rest, then to run after him. On the 10th. we set out, and upon our approach near the Town, we observed an Eminence above it about a League off, and two Ships upon the lake of Nizavaga, that carryed, as we were since informed, all the wealth of the Town in an Island two Leagues off. We took a Prisoner in a Village that was in our way, who told us the Inhabitants of the Town had intrenched themselves upon the Point of Arms, and compassed it with a strong Wall, and gave our Quarter-master who had run away to them, given information that we designed to come amongst them: He told us farther, that that Place was guarded with fourteen pieces of Cannon, and six Petereroes, and that they had detached six Troops of Horse to attack our rear while our Front should be engaged with the Spaniards, if so be we should come up to them.

This

This Information which doubtless would have terrified any other but Free-booters, did not retard our design one Minute, nor hinder us, about ten in the Afternoon of the same day to come up to the Town, where at one entrance into the Suburbs, we met with a strong party lying in Ambush for us, whom after an Hours Engagement, we fell with that Fury that we made our way over all their Betties, with the loss only of one Man on our own side, and from thence entered the Town, where we made an halt to wait for the Answer of several of our Company, whom we had detach'd to go round and take Observation of a Fort which we saw in a direct Line from the Street, by which we entered. Presently after came a party to inform that it was a Square Fort, and that besides the Street we were in, they had also observed three more, that look'd out to the other three sides of this Fort, by which an Enemy could discover whatever came towards us through those avenues which were moreover all commanded by their Cannon and small Arms.

We were not long in debate what we should do, we could easily see we were too few to make our attack on those different ways all at a time. Wherefore after we had got together all those whom we had sent out to observe, who for some time had been detain'd by some light skirmishes; we made our selves ready to fall on straight down the Street alone where we then were, and 'twas well we did so for if we had dispersed our selves through the other three the Horse which were in the rear of us, and obstructed our Motion, would not have failed to hem us in, and they durst not do while we kept all together.

After we had exhorted one another to fall on bravely we advanced a round pace towards the said Fortification. As soon as the defendants saw us within a good Cannon shot of them, they fired furiously upon us, but observing that at every Discharge of their great Guns, we fell down to the Ground, in order to let their shot over us, they bethought themselves of false promises, to the end we might raise our Bodies after the storm was over, and so be really surpris'd with the true Firing. As soon as we discovered this Stratagem we ranged our selves along the Houses, and having got upon a little ascent, which was a Garden-plot, we fell upon them from thence so openly for an hour and

half, that they were obliged to quit the Ground, to which our hardy Boys, who were got to the Foot of their Walls, contributed yet even more then the other, by pouring in hand Granadoes incessantly upon them, so that at last they betook themselves to the Great Church or Tower, but they wounded us some Men: As soon as our People who were got upon the said Emission, perceived that the Enemy fled, they called to us to jump over the Walls, which we had no sooner done, but they followed us: And thus it was that we made ourselves masters of their Place of Arms, and consequently of the Town, from whence they fled, after having lost great many Men: We had on our side but four Men killed, and eight wounded, which in truth was very cheap: When we got into the Fort, we found it to be quite capable of containing six thousand fighting Men, and was encompassed with a Wall, the same as our Prisoners gave us an account of: It was pierced with many holes to do execution upon the Assailants, and was well stored with Arms: That part of it which looked towards the Street, through which we attacked it, was defended by two pieces of Cannon, and four Petereroes, to the using of several other places made to open in the Wall through which they thrust instruments made on purpose to break the Leggs of those that should be so presumptuous as to come near it, but these by the help of our Granadoes, we rendered useless to them. After we had sung *Te Deum* in the Great Church, and set four Cannons in the Tower, we fixt our Court of Guard in the strong built Houses, that are also enclosed within the Place of Arms, and there gathered all the Ammunition we could get: Then we went to visit the Houses, where we found nothing but a few Goods and some Provisions, which we carried into our Court of Guard. Next day in the Evening we detached a party of an hundred and fifty Men, to go and find out some Women, that we might put them to Ransom, and some Booty, which we were told they had in the Sugar Plantation a League off of the City: But they were gone by the time we got thither, as not believing themselves safe in that place, so that our Party came back *re infecta*: The next day we sent a Prisoner to the Spaniards, to require them to ransom the Town, or else we would burn it; and upon they sent a Monk to treat with us, who said



They fire  
Granada.

the Officers and Inhabitants were in Consultation about it, but that one of our Men whom they had taken as he lagged behind, through weariness upon the Road, with our the Officer that brought up our Rear, his having taken notice of it, assured them we would not burn it, because our design was to pass some Months after to the North-Sea, by the Lake there, and to furnish our selves in this Town with necessaries for our Journey, which we should not meet with if we fired the Place: So that the said Man having given them such assurance, they would no longer trouble themselves about giving an Answer to the Proposal we had made for their ransoming the Town, which at last constrained some of us to set fire to the Houses out of meer Spight and Revenge.

The opportunity which now offered it self unto us in passing through the Lake to the North-Sea, was not at this time over favourable, and we should not have failed to make use of it, if we had had Canoes ready in the place to go and take two Ships, and the wealth of the Town, which the Inhabitants had carryed for the better securing of them into the Island which I have already said was in the said Lake; which would have put a full end unto the Trouble we had been in from the time we failed of seizing the Flota before Panama; In the term of Dangers and Miseries which our destiny had still in store for us, being not yet come, we could not take the Advantage of so favourable an Opportunity to get out of those parts of the World, which though very charming and agreeable to those who are settled there, yet did not appear to be so to a handful of Men as we were, without Shipping, the most part of our time without Victuals, and wandering amidst a multitude of Enemies, against whom we were obliged to be continually upon our Guard, and who did all that in them lay to deprive us of Subsistence.

Granada  
described.

Granada is a large and spacious Town, situated in a Bottom, inclining to the Coast of the South-Sea, where Churches are very stately, and Houses well enough built. They have several Religious Houses there, both for Men and Women; The Great Church stands at one of the ends of the place of Arms; The Country thereabouts is very destitute of Water, they having no other there than only the Lake of Nicaragua upon the side whereof the City is built, and round about which

you may see a great many fine Sugar Plantations, which are more like unto so many Villages, then single Houses, and among the rest is that belonging to the Knight of St. James's, where we lay in our March to the Town, where there is a very pretty and rich Church.

On the 10th. we left the City, and took along with us one piece of Cannon, with four Petereroes, as not questioning but we should meet with Opposition in our way, before we came to the Sea-side, from which we were near twenty Leagues distant, and therein we were not deceived; seeing the Spaniards waited for us, to the number of two thousand five hundred Men, within a quarter of a League of the Town, and presently charged us: But not dreaming that we had brought any of their Artillery along with us, they were so terrified when we had fired two Cannon shot upon their first Ambuscade, that they left us a free passage in this place only, for though they saw a great many of their Men sprawling upon the Ground, they ceased not all the way at certain distances to lay new Ambushes for us, where they had no more success then at first. We took one of them Prisoners, who told us, there was a Million and an half of pieces of Eight long since ordered for the ransoming of their Town, in case the same should be taken, and that the same was buried in the Wall, so as that it could not be seen: But we had no inclination to go back in search of this Money, seeing we found difficulty enough to rid our selves out of the Hands of so considerable a number of Enemies as we had already to deal with.

We were forced that Evening to leave our Cannon behind us, after we had first nailed them up, for the Oxen that drew them were dead for want of Water, having travelled several Leagues through very great heats, without one drop of Water, and through such a Dust, as soaked both Man and Beast. But we reserved our Petereroes, which were carried by Mules, who could better bear this inconveniency. At last we lay in a very pretty Village, called *Massaya*, that stands upon the side of the Lake, but from hence to the Water there is so great a descent, that a Man of full growth appears to be no bigger then a Child: We were received by the Indians in this place with open Arms, but the Spaniards that had retired thither, knowing the extream thirst where-

with we were afflicted, had spoilt all the Water that was in the Village, hoping thereby to reduce us to such necessity, that we might go by Night to drink to the Lake that so they might lay some Ambush for us: But the Indians that came to meet, and pray us not to burn the Village, remedied this Evil, in assuring us, they would supply us with whatever we had occasion for, as long as we staid there, and particularly with Water. Taken with this their Submission, we granted them their request, so much the more willingly, seeing they gave us to understand upon several occasions, that they were more our Friends, then they were the Spaniards.

The misery  
of the In-  
dians.

All these Indians are a miserable People, whom the Spaniards endeavour to reduce and bring under their Subjection by little and little, with a feigned gentleness practised towards them, to make them forgetful of their Cruelties and Tyrannies they had heretofore exercised in those parts, and which they are not wanting still to keep in remembrance. They have at present a pretty number of them there, whom they have brought down from the Mountains where they had refugiated themselves and brought them to submit in this manner. They have given them places to build Burroughs and Villages upon, but all their Labour redounds to the advantage of the Spaniards. So that being used as Slaves by them, they are so weary of their Dominion, and the Barbarity shewed them, by being made use of as Pallisadoes by the Spaniards when they fight us, that if we had been People fit to receive them, as often as they made an offer to take our parts, we should have formed a very considerable Army, and it is certain, that if they had but Arms and Protection, they would have infallibly shaken off the Yoke of their pitiful Masters, being three times more in number than they.

The Free-  
booters  
routed the  
Spaniards.

We rested only one day in this place, to refresh our wounded Men, where two dyed of the Cramp, which contracted all their Nerves, this is so malignant a Distemper in this Country, that when it seizes upon a stranger that is wounded, it will certainly kill him: The same day came a Father to us from the Spaniards, to demand another Father from us, who was one of our Prisoners, who had taken up Arms against us, and had his Pockets full of poisoned Bullets: We required in exchange

change for him one of our Men, whom they had taken, which they would by no Means agree to, so that we carried the latter along with us, as far as the Sea-side.

On the 17th. we left this Burrough, and lay in another place three Leagues beyond it, from whence we passed next day, and as we came out of a Forrest to enter into a Plain, we discovered five hundred Men upon an ascent, waiting for our coming, commanded by the abovementioned *Catalonian* Quarter-master, that had deserted us: They had put up Bloody Colours, to signify they would give no quarter, which obliged us to lay by our white Colours, and display our Red as well as they.

We marched directly to the place where they were without stopping, though they fired very thick upon us, and when we came within Musket-shot, we detached our Van-Guard to beat them off their Ground, which they did with wonderful Bravery; Here we took about fifty Horses, the Enemy in their fight, cowardly left part of their Arms behind them, besides their dead and wounded Men, by which last we understood that these People were the reinforcement which the Inhabitants of the Town of *Leon* had sent to the Assistance of *Granada* against us, and who were returned home.

After we had rested about an hour, we continued our March, and lay at a little Town which the Inhabitants had forsaken. On the 19th. we lay in a Hatto, and the next day in an *Estancia*, where we rested some days to refresh our selves, and to salt our Provisions to carry on Board our Ships, where we knew very well there could be no Victuals left. I always went before with an advanced Party of fifty Men, to go and inform those who looked after our Vessels with our Return. On the 26th. the rest of our Men came to the Sea-side, where we re-embarked all together, and understood that four of our Men wounded in the Fight at *Pueblo Viejo* were dead, but more for want of Sustainance than their Wounds.

On the 27th. we sailed for *Realeguo*, and on the 28th. anchored in that Port, where upon our going ashore, the Sentinels of *Pueblo Viejo* discovered us, but that did not hinder us to proceed and arrive at the place about Noon; The Spaniards who had heard of our coming, fled every where, but the hearts are so excessive in these parts, that

you cannot travel there this time of day, and this made us go and see rather for some shade or tufts of Grass whereon to set our Feet, then to run after the Enemy; however we took some Prisoners. We carryed there but two days, and after we had gathered as much Provision as we could find in the Houses, and sent out a party to see for some Horses, whereof they brought us an hundred, we departed on the first of May, and carryed our Provision to the River-side at *Realeguo*, where our Canoes were, who carryed the same afterwards on Board our Ships, while we went out to seek for more, that so we might get together a good quantity, and not be obliged to consume it as we brought it in.

On the 2d. we went to a Sugar Plantation to fetch off six Caldrons which we brought away next day, and on the fourth set out for a Burrough two Leagues from *Realeguo*, which they call *Ginandego*, which some of the Inhabitants a few days before pray'd us by way of Raillery to go and Visit, as thinking themselves sufficiently secured by a Retrenchment cast up at the Avenue leading to it, and that was defended by two hundred Men. We got thither on the fifth, by break of day; But being discovered by the Sentinel, he carryed the Spaniards notice thereof, who gave us no occasion to desire then to quit it, after they had given us a few Musquet-shots, so that to punish their Rhodomontades, we burnt the place down to the Ground: We took one of their people Prisoner, by whom we understood that the *Corregidor* of *Leon*, who was very desirous to drive us away from that Coast, had ordered all the *Tements*, as soon as we got to any Place, to burn all the Provision they had, which to our sorrow was but too well executed, not only here, but every where else, and was the cause also of that Hunger and extraordinary royl which we were forced to endure in these Seas, as long as we staid there.

The same day about Noon, came about eight hundred Men into a *Savana* from *Leon* to fight us, the Sentinel which we had placed on the top of the Steeple, rang the Alarm-Bell to give us notice to get together, and come out of the Houses where we were dispersed: Whereupon we marched in a body of an hundred and fifty Men, with red Colours to fight them, but as they could not endure to let us come within Musket-shot of them

them, for they fled without any more ado, we were oblig'd to retire, and on the 6th. went away to go on Board our Ships, which we careened next day, as we also cleaned our Canoes.

On the 9th. we had a consultation together, about what way we should take, and here we found our selves of two Opinions, one party was for going up before Panama, being in hopes they had begun their Navigation again, as knowing we were far enough from them; But the rest represented, that many times they had such Years on that Coast, whereof that might be one of them, that eight Months thereof was sad Weather, in respect to excessive Rains, and Southerly Winds which reign there, and that therefore it would be more advisable to go lower Westward, and winter upon some Island or other, and there to wait for fair Weather.

Now these different Sentiments were pursued by us, and every Man having made choice of his side; Next day our Chirurgeons had orders to give in an account of those among the wounded, who were crippled, to the end we might make them Satisfaction before we divided. They told us we had four Men crippled, and six hurt, to which we gave six hundred pieces of Eight a Man, and a thousand to those that were crippled, as it was our constant custom in those Seas, and it was exactly all the Money we had got together, that was applyed to that use; We made a Division of the Barks and Canoes on the 12th. and we found our selves to be an hundred and forty eight French-Men, ready to go up towards Panama, (without comprehending the English under Captain Tonsley,) and the same number of French sailed also to the Westward. Next day our Provision was shared amongst us, and now it was that we divided into two parts; those who were for the Westward, put themselves under the Conduct of Captain Grogniet, and we that were bound for Panama, were commanded by Captain Tonsley; And then we went to Anchor at an Island (half a League distant from that we left) to take in Water and Wood: On the sixteenth, Captain Grogniet sent us his Quarter-master to desire us to put none of our Prisoners ashore, for fear they should give the Spaniards notice of our Separation, for as he had a design to make a Descent upon them, he was apprehensive that such a Dis-

They disagree and  
steer different  
Course &

every would make them more resolute and hardy to oppose him.

On the 19th we made ready, and sailed for Panama with Captain Townsley's Ship and one Bark: We steered East-South-East, to South-South-East, and to South-South-West, till mid-night, when we were overtaken with a Storm, which made us lye by till the 20th. In Noon, when the Weather proved fair, then we steered East-South-East, to the 23d. when we anchored in the Bay of Golebra to take in Water. We spent that day there to take *Tortoises*, which are to be found in great numbers in that little Bay: They are of different sizes, and we found one sort of them so large, that one was enough for fifty Persons to feed upon in a day. On the 24th we put an hundred and fifty Men ashore, in order to find out some Town or Burrough, we having no Guide with us that knew this Country, and after we had walked a League or thereabouts, we alight upon three Harbours very near one another, where finding Edibles enough, we staid till the 26th. when we returned on Board; Then Captain Townsley proposed we should go and take the Town of Villia, which is 30 Leagues to Leeward of Panama, to which all of us agreed, and that Evening we weighed, having a Wind blowing from the Land, which served us till the 27th. at Noon, when it blew very hard from the South-East, accompanied with Rain till the 28th. in the Evening, when it began to allay, we were favoured all the 29th. with a *Westerly* Wind, and that Evening were brought in sight of Cape Blanch. On the 30th. the Weather was fair enough, but on the 31st. two hours before Day light, it grew very boisterous, so that we were forced to put in for the Cape: we had a Thunderbolt fell upon the end of our great Sail Yard, which did no more then crack it: Having moderate weather on the first of *June*, we steered East-South-East, and next day about Noon, had a sight of Land, but it was so hazy, that we could not tell where we were, however we steered East by South-East, to come near. The Weather being now somewhat cleared up, we found we were between the Bay of Boca Toro, and the Point called Barica, when we sailed South and by South-East, to put out to Sea, and then bore to the North-East, that we might reach the Isle of St. Julian de Cuello.



On the 7th, we put in at the Isle of *Monteſa*, fix Leagues to the Southward of that of *St. John*; We ſet out three Canoes, with which we coaſted round about the Iſt, and our Ships anchored at another little Iſland, which is half a League to the *East*: While we were going round *St. John's* Iſland with our Canoes, we found nothing there but one of our Priſoners, who having made his eſcape from us when we were there, and being not able to get to the Continent, returned to us. On the 10th. we went back to our Ships, and next day took in our ſtore of Water and Wood, and cleaned our Ships: There aroſe the ſucceeding Night a North Wind that tore our Cables, and made us think we ſhould be thrown aſhoar; But as good Luck would have it, it came about and gave us an opportunity to make ready, and to caſt Anchor farther from the Shoar. By the ſtroke of the Lightning we diſcovered our Canoes, and found their Ropes alſo broken, and that the Waves were throwing them aſhoar alſo, unleſs we had ſaved them, though we could not hinder one of them from being ſplit to pieces.

On the 13th. we made ready, and ſailed for *La Villia*, with a *West-South-Weſt* Wind, made Land on the fifteenth, and knew it to be the Cape called *Mora a Puerco*, then we bore off to Sea with a hard Wind till the Evening, when the Weather grew ſo very bad, that we did nothing till the 18th. but let our Ships drive with a *South-Weſt* Wind, having terrible Rain all the while till Noon, when the Weather grew better, and being cleared up, we diſcerned three Rocks, which are called the *Three Brothers*, ſtanding three Leagues to Leeward of the Bay of *Villia*, whither we were going. On the 19th. we ſaw the Point *Mora*, which is Leeward of that Bay; We ſailed all Night Northward to get to the Shoar, and next Morning at break of day, we found our Selves within five or ſix Leagues of it, when we furled all our Sails except the Sprit-Sail: Next Evening we went on Board our Canoes, and put on all Night after we had given our Orders to lye by, and wait for us at the mouth of the Bay where we were.

On the 21ſt. in the Morning we diſcovered the place where we were to go aſhoar, and caſt Anchor till Night, as we alſo took down our Maſts, for fear they ſhould be diſcovered from the Shoar, and then made our ſelves

The Buc-  
canniers  
take *La*  
*Villia*, and  
a very  
great Booty

selves ready to Land, which we did on the 22d. an hour before day : But Experience telling us we had not time enough before us to get to the place before the light appeared, we put three Leagues off where we were anchored, having no where in this Bay above fifteen fathom Water. That Evening we made for the shore to gain, which we could not recover before Midnight, because the Currents were against us. After we had Footing, we marched to the number of an hundred and sixty Men directly to the Town, and took one of two *Spaniards*, whom we found on the way, who told us that he was sent by the *Alcaide Major* to watch the Sea-side, because they had seen a Ship and a Bark loof off, which yet they were so little alarmed with, that they had increased their Guard with no more than twenty Men : We continued our march, and for all the assistance we were able to use, it was an hour after Sun-setting, before we could get to the Town, where we found no resistance, half of the People being then at Mass. Men and Women, we took three hundred Prisoners, whom we understood there were three Barks in the River on which the Town was situated. We sent presently a party to take them, but the *Spaniards* having no time, sunk one of them, hid the Sails and Rudder of the other two, and cut down their Masts by the middle so that the Party going on further, gave notice to the rest of us, whom we had left to take care of our Canoes which they found at Anchor at the Rivers Mouth, as we had taken *Villia* : We gathered together that day the Merchandize which the Fleet had left in this Town, computed by the *Spaniards* to be worth a Million and half, and to the value of fifteen Thousand pieces of Eight in good Silver, which was an inconsiderable sum to what we should have found there, if the *Spaniards* in all these Countreys, who are always apprehensive of the visits of the *Free-Booters*, had not hid their Treasures out of our sight, many of whom chose rather to be killed, then to discover the places where they had buried them.

On the 24th. we sent a party of fourscore Men to conduct a like number of Horses laden with Bales of Goods to the River side, where we knew there were Canoes belonging to the *Spaniards*, on Board of which after they had put them, they were to bring them to the River

Rivers Mouth, where ours were, but one of our Men  
 upon this occasion, was taken by the Enemy :  
 the same day we sent a Letter to the *Alcaide Major*  
 (they call him) in order to know whether he would  
 for the Town, and buy the effects we had seized :  
 sent us Answer, that all the Ransom that he took up-  
 on him to give us was Powder and Ball, whereof he  
 a great deal at our Service : That as to the Prisoners  
 had taken, he committed them to the hands of God ;  
 moreover, that his People were getting together as  
 as they could to get the honour to see us. Upon  
 receiving this Answer which angered all our Men,  
 fired the Town, and went our ways to lye in a  
 where our Boory was kept by our fourscore Men,  
 which was about a quarter of a League off: We were  
 several times that Night, and on the 25th put  
 best and finest effects on Board the two *Spanish* Ca-  
 noes, because we could not carry off all. For our  
 Canoes, as we have said, were at the mouth  
 of the River, on Board of which we could have laden  
 the rest, but they durst not come up thither because of the  
 ambuscades of the *Spaniards* who had already killed  
 a Man, as they were endeavouring to come up to  
 pursuant to the orders we had before left with them:  
 therefore having laden the two *Spanish* Canoes, we  
 put nine Men on Board them, and the rest guarded them  
 on the Land all along the River side, while six hundred *Spani-*  
 ards did the same on the other side, without being disco-  
 vered by us, because of a great many Trees, Bushes  
 and Thickets, that grow along the Banks thereof. When  
 we had marched on about a League, we came to a  
 so full of these Trees and Thickets, that we could  
 not pass it, so that we were obliged to take a turn about  
 which brought us off from the River side about two hun-  
 dred Paces, which was the occasion, as you will hear,  
 of the loss of all our Boory, and the Death of some of  
 our Men.

As we quitted the place where we lay, we ordered  
 the who had the charge of our Canoes to stop in this  
 River, at a place where there were three *Spanish* Barks, to  
 the end we might endeavour to bring them away ; but  
 when they came there, they were suddenly surprized with  
 an Ambuscade, of which the *Spaniards* were never niggard  
 to us, and as they defended themselves against them, the  
 Current

The *Span-*  
*niards* sur-  
 prize and  
 retake the  
 Boory.

Current of the River drove them beyond the three Barks and consequently far from us, which was exactly where they would have, for as soon as they saw them in a place where we could not relieve them; they discharged a Musket shot at them, with which they killed four, wounded one: The rest made their escape to the other side of the River and abandoned their Canoes, which a dozen *Indians* who swam the River, carried to the *Spaniards*, who cut off the Head of one of our Men, which was only wounded, and set it on the top of a Pole, so that we might see it, as we came down the River.

After we had finished the Tour we had taken, we drew near the River again, and being to come to a place where the three Barks were, and not finding the Canoes, we thought they were still behind; but about an hour after, we saw three of those who had the charge of them, coming through the Thickets towards us, who gave us a Relation of the Disaster that befell them, and said that as they passed the Woods, they found the Rudders and Sails of those three Barks, in two of which we embarked our selves all together, and sent out constantly fifty Men by Land before us, to seek out the Sails and Rudders, giving them a Signal, that we would fire off three Guns, and that they should answer us, as many, to shew where they should find us, so that they might joyn us there. But at the same time that we fired our three pieces, we heard the report of about five hundred, which made us immediately conclude our Men were attacked, wherefore we delayed not to go ashore in order to relieve them; but by the time we came up, the Engagement was over, and had not the River been between them and us, the matter had not been ended. We found one of our People in this place, who had escaped out of our Vessels, after we had brought away the Ship tackle that were hid in the Woods.

After we were embarked, we asked the Captain of the Horse of *Villia*, that was our Prisoner, where it was that the *Spaniards* could lay other Ambuscades for us; he answered it might be about the Rivers Mouth, and not only so, but that we should mistrust all those places, which seemed to give them any advantage over us, and then we came to an Anchor, because of the coming in of the Tide.

On the 26th. we went ashore at the place where they killed our Men the day before, we found the two Bodies dashed to pieces, and the Bodies of our Men which they had wounded in several places after they were dead: One of them they had thrown into the Fire, and put the others Head upon a Pole, as we have said already. These Objects so enraged our Men, that they cut off at the same time four of their Prisoners Heads, which they set up also upon Poles in the same Place. When we took the Bodies of ours to bury them on the shore, and before we got thither, we were forced several times to go ashore to break through the Ambuscades which lay for us all along the River, at the mouth where we found also that we were warned of by the Captain of Horse aforesaid, but we happily freed our selves from it, though with the loss of three Men, and one wounded. At last we rejoined our Canoes, where one of our wounded Men dyed soon after.

The River of *Villia* is very large, and at Low-water La Villia makes at the mouth of it as on a flat Shoar, about a *River described.* League to Windward stands a great Rock, which Night and Day, and at all Seasons, is covered with a vast number of Birds called *Fragates*, *Maubies*, and great *Goziers*, which live altogether by fishing: Great Ships cannot enter this River, they being obliged to anchor within shot in the Sea, but for Barks of about forty Tons they can go up a League and an half within it: The Port or place of Embarking belonging to *Villia*, is about a League and an half higher, and the Town a quarter of a League distant from it, its very well situated, its Churches are almost fallen to Ruine, though they are very rich on the inside: Its Streets are very straight, the private Houses pretty well built, on the outside of it are a great many Hattos, accompanied with vegetable *Savanas*: The Town of *Nata* which is the night stands seven Leagues distant from it.

On the 27th. came a Person on Board us to redemand our Prisoners, with whom we agreed for ten thousand pieces of Eight ransom, and threatened to cut off all their Heads, if they did not send us the Money by the 29th. But instead of that, he returned to tell us, that the *Abeside Major* had seized upon those of their People who were our Prisoners whom we had sent ashore, and that they were to ransom their Wives, in revenge where-

~~an intention to pass from the North to the South~~  
 whereof we presently cut off the Heads of two Prisoners  
 and gave them the Messenger to carry to the *Alcaide*  
 telling him, if he sent us no other answer, we would  
 cut off the Heads of the rest, and after having put  
 Women upon an Island, we would go to take himself:  
 The same Person in the Evening returned to tell us, that  
 the Ransoms would come, and that besides them,  
 they would bestow upon us ten Beefs, twenty Sheep,  
 two packs of Meal, the least whereof usually weigh  
 an hundred pound, every day as long as we staid.

On the 30th, they brought us back the Man, who  
 they had taken, in Exchange for the Captain of the  
 that was our Prisoner; and as they shew themselves  
 very fond of having *French Arms*, they pretended to  
 have lost them that belonged to our Man, for which we  
 made them pay four hundred pieces of Eight: They proposed  
 to buy them one of the Barks we had taken from them,  
 and agreed with us for six hundred pieces of Eight,  
 one hundred pound of Nails, of which we stood in  
 need, whereupon we delivered her up, after we had  
 first taken out her Tackle and Anchors. They also  
 required a Passport from us, that we would not retake  
 the Bark, in case met with her out at Sea, but only the Goods  
 wherewith she should be laden, which we also gave them.

They re-  
 ceive the  
 Ransom of  
 the Prison-  
 ers.

Next day in the Evening they brought us the ten hun-  
 dred pieces of Eight, as had been agreed upon, then  
 weigh'd, in order to go anchor at a place that served  
 as a little Port to an *Hatto*, where they were to give us  
 one hundred and twenty salted Beefs: We departed from  
 thence on the fourth of *July*, and anchored at  
 the Isle of *Iguana*, to see and get us some Water, not  
 daring to go and get us any on the Continent that was  
 guarded with four thousand Men: But after we had  
 searched in some places, and found that the Water was  
 brackish, we resolved rather than we would dye for thirst,  
 to make a descent with two hundred Men on the *Firma*,  
 in order to procure us some in spite of the *Spaniards*,  
 whom we found about an hundred paces from the  
 Sea-side lying upon the Grass, and after a short Fight  
 put them to flight, seeing we were a People would  
 hazard all for a small matter: This being over, we  
 presently filled some Casks with Water, and returned  
 again.

On the 7<sup>th</sup>. we weighed Anchor and sailed for the King's Isles, and on the 9<sup>th</sup>. anchored at *Morne a Puer* fourteen Leagues to Leeward of the Island *Iguana* take in more Water, there being no Body there to oppose us: We departed on the 10<sup>th</sup>. with a favourable West-Wind, and that day one of our wounded Men dy-

On the 13<sup>th</sup>. we discovered an Island called *Galera*, which is to Leeward of all the *Kings Islands*, and on the fourteenth we began to perceive the Currents that reign the year round between those Islands, which made us farther off to Sea. On the 15<sup>th</sup>. we had a North-West Wind, a fresh Gale which brought us near Land, and four days after which was the 18<sup>th</sup>. discovered Cape and kept all day there at Cape, for fear of being discovered by the Inhabitants of those many Islands that were round about us.

On the 21<sup>st</sup>. in the Evening we went on Board our Boats, and landed at Mid-night, but for all the Precaution we had taken, we were discovered by the People that were fishing for Oyster Pearls, which are to be found in great numbers, sticking to the bottom of the Rocks that are round about these Islands: On the 22<sup>d</sup>. in the Evening we discovered from one of these Islands that we had made a descent, a Ship under Sail, to whom we gave chase, and came up with her two hours before day light, when without any more ado we boarded and made our selves masters of her: The Men on Board told us the Inhabitants of *Panama* did not think we were so near, and that as we had come from the Bay of *Villia*, they believed we had chose rather to be gone and winter'd at *St. John's Island*, where they thought still we had built a Fort, grounding their perceptions upon those shams, I have before observed, we formerly made, and still did as we found occasion. They told us also that six and Thirty *English* and *French* were come from *Peru* in a Bark, with an intention to go by the way of the River *Boca-del Chica* to the North Sea, but that the *Spaniards* having intelligence thereof, sent the *Indians*, with whom they had made Peace, since they had granted us passage through their Countrey by the same River into the South-Sea, went out to meet them in great numbers, had defeated the greatest party, and brought one Prisoner to *Panama*: Moreover, that two *English* Parties consisting of forty Men each, having



an intention to pass from the North to the South-Sea, had been all of them massacred but four, who were still Prisoners at Panama; and lastly, that there was a Bark in the River of Boca del Chica, that carryed for eight hundred Pounds in Gold, dug up in the neighbouring Mines in order to carry it to Panama.

On the same day we returned on Board our Ship, and found them at Anchor by the greatest of the *Key Islands*, and ordered our Carpenters to make an Half-Galley of the Bark we had taken on the 26th. When some Questions arose to the Captain of the said Bark, who told us, they were in daily Expectation at Panama of the Arrival of two Ships laden with Mica, which were to carry also the Pay of their Soldiers from Lima; upon which Information we sent out our Half-Galley, which was now finished, to scout without the Islands; on the 29th we departed with our Canoes, and went ashore upon one of these Islands, where we surprized a Person that was come from Panama, whose Master was Captain of these *Gocele Pirates*, whereof I have heretofore spoken, who came on purpose thither to bewaken, to the end he might endeavour by Artificial ways to lead us into a Snare of which I am ready to give an account. This Man immediately pretended a great deal of sincerity, in telling us several things, which he knew we were not ignorant of, and some others which we could not quickly and easily come to know; and among the rest, that there were in the River of *Seppa*, two Merchant Barks, and a *Pirogue* with fifty *Indian* on Board, whom the *Spaniards* had aimed since they made a Peace with them; That besides, the Governor of *Pana* had acquainted the President of *Panama*, that he owed our Men whom they had taken, had assured him of thirty more of us, who had not been informed of the Peace, and good understanding, there was between the *Indians* and the *Spaniards*, were about to pass from this Sea to that of the North, by the same way we all of us had come into the South-Sea; And that upon this Information, the President had sent an hundred Men into the River of *Boca del Chica* to wait for them: But to compass his Design, which was to draw us under the Forts of *Panama*, he told us in the last place, that they had a little Frigate which came laden into that Port, and a Gally that was sent out every Evening upon the

Scout,

25 fol.

olved to take the Advantage of this Information which we took to be candid and real, and not to neglect this opportunity of getting some Vessels for ourselves, whereof we stood in great need.

On the 1st. of *August* we sent our Galley for *The Greek* this purpose into the River of *Seppa*, in order to take *Captains* one of the Barks our Captain spoke of, and at the *Stratagem* same time we departed also with four Canoes to go *discovered*, and seize those Ships in the port of *Panama*, being *and he* accompanied by our Greek Intelligencer, who in *killed* tended to be our Guide upon this occasion: He brought us two hours before day light before the Town, and as the Moon shone very bright, we staid for some Cloud to obscure it, to facilitate our approach undiscovered to the Ships in the Port, whereof we saw one already, which to our thinking had her Sails loose: And here was the lure and snare to which the Captain lead us, but by the effect of meer chance, or rather our own good Fortune, we turned away to a Ship which we unexpectedly saw going out of the Port, and gave her chase, believing the same to be the Galley that usually went out to scout, as we had been told: We took her without a Gun shot, and upon Examination of the Captain who commanded her, he discovered unto us, that the President of *Panama* had sent us a Greek, who was to suffer himself to be taken by us, and to whom he had promised a very great Reward, if he succeeded in the project he had formed of destroying us, that the means that had been agreed upon to effect it, were to bring us under the Forts of that Town, allured with the hopes of taking those Ships there wherewith he had amused us, and whereof that which seemed to us to have her Sails loose, was but a sham Ship, a Pistol shot from the Port, which was built upon firm Land, of sorry Planks well set together, in which they had set up Masts, and adorned her with some Sails: And as this was the most apparent Object, and the first that offered it self in sight; it was not to be questioned, but that we who must believe the same to have been on the Water, being deceived with the darkness of the Night; would not

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have failed (being so greedy as we were to take her) to row up to her, where our Canoes must infallibly run far ashoar, and that in the time that must necessarily have been spent in getting them off, the *Spaniards* would have leasure to fall upon us, where they did not doubt, but so great a number of Men as they had in so considerable a Town as that was, would quickly overpower and destroy us.

This Information which came so seasonably, that it saved us from the certain danger we were going to throw our selves into, was not so advantagious to our Greek Captain, who being known by the Captain of the Bark, for the same Person, of whose treachery he had now advertised us; we paid him for his Trouble, by sending him to the other World, where he designed to have sent us, after which we went to take the Island of *Tavoga*, which had been re-inhabited since we had left the Coast of *Panama*.

From the second at Night to the third, we left this Island, and went to take that of *Ottoqua* which is two Leagues North and South from it, and which we found peopled again: We made ready on the fourth to go and joyn our Galley, whom we had appointed to Rendezvouz at the Isle of *Sipilla*, but we found her in our passage with a Prize she had taken, being one of the Barks that were in the River of *Seppa*, from whence in coming out, she had met with an Ambuscade that killed her two Men, and broke the Arm of another.

On the fifth we saw five Sail between *Tavoga* and *Panama*, we presently bore up to them, and found they were our own Ships that had given chase to a Bark come from *Nata*, laden with Provisi<sup>o</sup>n. The Master thereof finding he could not defend it, threw himself into the Water and swam ashoar, after he had made some discharges with his small Arms upon them: On the sixth we went with our Prizes to Anchor at *Tavoga*, and from thence writ to the President of *Panama*, that if he would not give up the five *English* and *French* Prisoners, he had in that place, we would cut off the Heads of fifty *Spaniards* we had

in our Hands : But hearing no News of him, on the seventh we weighed, and sailed for the *King's-Islands*: We anchored on the ninth, to stop the Leaks of our Ships, and while that was doing, we departed with our Galley and four Canoes for the River *Boca del Chica*, as well to be informed whether it was true, that the *Indians* of *Sambe* had made Peace with the *Spaniards*, as we had been assured, as to go and burn all that was built of the Town called *Terrible* upon this fine River, that it might be a defence to a Gold Mine they had near. We went also to fight the hundred Men, which the Greek told us lay in wait for thirty of our *Free Booters* that were to pass into the North Sea.

On the 11th. we arrived at the mouth of the River *Boca del Chica*: We lay at Anchor there till Midnight, when we weighed, and as the Sea swelled, we suffered our selves to be carryed up the River at the pleasure of the Current. About two in the Morning our Guide still believing we were far from the place whither he was conducting us, made us put on apace, which did us great harm, for instead of going to surprize others, we were surprized our selves; For about a quarter of an hour after, we saw Fire, but there was no going back now, for the River made a Bow, from whence the rapidness of the Tide coming in, threw us in sight of our Teeth upon these Fires, which we came quickly to know were kindled by those hundred Men we were in quest of, for they presently asked us from whence our Canoes were bound, and being answered by our Guide pursuant to our Order from *Panama*, they asked again who was the Commander, and we being long in pitching upon a *Spanish* Name, they gave us a full Volley: But two Petererée-mor which we made at them, having forced them to quit their Ground, we passed on, and Anchored out of the reach of their Arms, to wait for the ebb of tide, that we might get out again, for as we could find no place to go ashore above them, for the Country was full of *Marishes*, except at the place where they were, we resolved to take them lower down, and so an hour before day light we went back be-

The Buc-  
caneers  
beat the  
Spaniards  
out of their  
intrench-  
ments at  
Boca del  
Chica.

fore their Entrenchment, after we had put all our Men under Deck, and fired four Peterero-shots, wherewith we saluted them so opportunely, that we wounded them a great many Men, and they made no great firing upon us.

On the 12th. we took a small Vessel upon this River, wherein were three Indians; then we went ashore with an intention to attack the Spaniards from behind their Intrenchments, which commanded the River only; But they presently sent out their Piragu to take ours, which made us expeditiously return on board our Vessels to defend them and to alter the manner of our attack, by resolving to go to them before their Court of Guard, at the Foot whereof we went ashore in spite of all the fire they made upon us, which lasted not long: For our Peterero and Musket-shot killed them a great many Men, which made them quickly fly and leave us their Intrenchment, where we found a great many Dead and Wounded Men, and took some Prisoners, among whom there was one named Alfier. He was an Indian, who out of a blind Zeal he had for the Interest of the Spaniards, took us for them as we were going on board our Canoes, and reproached us highly, but we quickly disabused my Gentleman, letting the Traytor know, to whom we had before been so kind in our passage by the same River, that we were become his Enemies, since he was become ours, and then put him out of a condition ever to serve the Spaniards or to injure us.

Those whom we took Prisoners, informed us that we were discover'd at the New Town La Terrible, and confirmed the account we had before of the Massacre of the three parties already mentioned, as well those who would have gone to the South-Seas, as the other who were minded to return by the way of that River to the North. Within this Entrenchment we found a Letter writ by the President of Panama, to a Camp-master that commanded in the Town La Terrible, which is as follows.

When

"When the Enemy took *La Villia*, one of their  
 "Men was taken, who gave us information that  
 "thirty Men were to set forth by the way of the Ri-  
 "ver *Boca del Chica* to return to the North Sea, as  
 "believing there was still a good understanding be-  
 "tween them and the *Indians*. I have sent you three  
 "hundred Men to defeat those Enemies of God and  
 "Goodness; be sure to keep upon your Guard, be a-  
 "fraid of being surprized, and your Men will infal-  
 "libly be gainers in defeating of them.

"Here it may be said that the Prisoners whom we  
 "took, were highly useful to us, as well by giving us  
 "means to subsist in these parts, as to deliver us from a  
 "great many Ambushes and Dangers, whereinto had  
 "not been for them, we must have fallen; witness this  
 "time, where the *Spaniards* would have spared our thirty  
 "Men the pains of going to the North-Sea: At last  
 "when we had burnt their Court of Guard, we took  
 "their *Pirogue* with some pounds of Gold-dust we  
 "found there, and then went down the River: As for  
 "those three *Indians* whom we took in the Boat,  
 "we sent them to tell their Comrades, that we  
 "had killed him who was with the *Spaniards*, but  
 "that we had given them quarter, because they were  
 "not amongst them, and this we did to endeavour to  
 "make them kind to us, and so disunite and separate  
 "them from the *Spaniards*.

Being got down on the 13th at Noon to the mouth  
 of the River, we met with one of our Barks, whom  
 we had ordered to come and attend us thither. Those  
 within her told us, that while they waited there,  
 two *Indian Pirogues* being deceived with the sight  
 of three or four *Spanish* Prisoners whom they had  
 put upon the Deck for that purpose, came of their  
 own accord and delivered themselves up into their  
 Hands, with some Pounds of Gold they had found  
 there; and that one of those *Indians* who bore  
 great sway amongst his own Nation, had a Commissi-  
 on from the President of *Panama*, to arm several  
*Pirogues*, and to make War upon us: We weigh'd  
 that Evening, to go and joyn our Ships that were  
 cruising between Cape *Pin*, and *Kings Islands*, and

there we waited for those of the *Spaniards*, who, we were told, were to come from *Lima*.

We got on Board our Ships on the 17<sup>th</sup>. in the Morning, and that Evening in our Passage by the *Kings Islands*, anchored to leave our Bark there to be Careened: Our people during our Absence, had put forty Prisoners ashore upon one of those Islands, who accidentally happening to meet with some Canoes, which the *Spaniards* had hid thereabouts, they made use of them to get off, and to go to *Panama* to inform the Governor of the course we were to take, and that the Ships we had left there were but weakly manned, which induced the President to send some force to attack them: But God was pleased so to order it, that we were returned with them to the rest of our Company.

On the 20<sup>th</sup>. we made ready to go to cruise about *Tavoga*, and that Evening anchored before the Port of *Panama*, in order to learn some News: We saw two Ships in the Road, whither the Town Canoes went and came all along without Intermission; but not dreaming they armed them against us, we anchored on the 21<sup>st</sup>. at *Tavoga*.

They took  
two Spanish  
Ships

On the 21<sup>st</sup>. by break of day, we descri'd three Sail just upon us, which we could not discover before, because of one of the Points of the Island, which kept them out of our Sight, insomuch that one of our Ships that had not time to weigh Anchor, slipped her Cable. As soon as they saw us make ready, they gave us some Guns, and as they had the Weather-gage, they did not spare to make use of the advantage they had over us. We made five racks to get to Windward of them, and they could not hinder us, but they lost the wind for want of Resolution, nor daring to pass between the Island of *Tavaguilla* and a Rock, where there was indeed passage for no more than one Ship, but we ventured it, and at last got the Weather-gage: We fought them till Noon, and knew not on which side the advantage lay, and though they plyed our Decks very close, we still



still persisted to keep them clear of them, which was the occasion that they lost a grand opportunity of mending their tackling. We threw a great many Granadoes into their biggest Ship, one of which had so good an effect, as to set fire to some loose Powder they had, which burnt a great many Men, and this brought the Fight to end sooner then otherwise could have been expected: For we came up at the same time with the said Ship now all on Fire, and boldly boarded her, where notwithstanding the vigorous resistance they made from the Stern, whither they had all retired, we at last forced them to beg for quarter, and made our selves master of the Ship: At the same time one of our Barks boarded one of theirs, and took it: The third that was a kind of a Galley, who staid to the last, before she began to make her escape, as trusting to her good Sailing, seeing her self now pursued by our Galley, and two *Pirogues*, ran her self ashoar, where she presently staved to pieces, and but very few of her crew were saved.

They had in their little Frigate fourscore Men killed and wounded, out of an hundred and twenty that were on Board: As for the Bark there were no more out of seventy, then eighteen unhurt: Neither could we see above ten or a dozen in all that swam ashoar from the other Vessel that was staved: All their Officers were either killed or wounded, and among others, the Captain, who received five Musquet-shot. He was the same Person that fought so stoutly at *Pueblo Nuevo*, where he had received five more, and that had also laid an Ambuscade for us at *La Villia*: But this last engagement rid us of him, for he dyed some time after.

While we were busie in mending the rigging of those Ships we had taken, and throwing the Dead over-board we discovered two Sail more come from *Panama*, which bore up towards us, whereupon we interrogated our Prisoners, in order to know what they should be: They said they did not question but this was the relief they sent them: At the same time

They decy  
two Spa-  
nish Ships  
more.

we thought ourselves of a Stratagem to amuse and make them believe we were taken, which was by putting up Spanish Colours in our own Ships and in the Prizes, with English and French ones under them: As soon as these two Ships approached, they came up to our Ship, who received them quite after another manner than they expected: Being thus surprized, they fired upon us with precipitation, and made off towards the little Frigate which they supposed still to be theirs, who calling to them to lye by, and the others not doing it, they threw some Granadoes into one of their Barks, which sent her to the bottom, while one of our Phogues boarded the other, wherein they found four packs of Cords, but all of the same length, which they had made ready to tie us up with: But they reckoned their Chickens before they were well hatched, and these Ropes was the occasion that no quarter was given to those in the Bark, where they were found; We afterwards read the Commission of the Captain of the little Frigate, which imported he should chase us as far as St. Johns Island, and that when they boarded us, they should spare none they found upon Deck, but only our Chirurgions whom they were willing to save, and that Troops of Horse should march along the shoar to take care that none of us made our escape to land in any Canoe.

On the 23d. as we sailed away to go Anchor at *Tavoga*, we discovered another Sail going back to *Panama*, whom we chased and took: She was a Shallop whom the President had sent to fetch off our Anchor, which we had not time to hale up the day before, which he came to know by the means of a Canoe, who passing that way, saw the Buoy: But for all the fatigues we had undergone in three Adventures we could not but laugh and laugh at the President, who had sent us Ropes to hang his Men, and also sent away to take this Anchor, wherewith to Anchor our Ship in his Port, which he believed his Men would bring in: We anchored this Evening at *Tavoga*.

We had but one Man killed in all the Fight, but there were twenty of us wounded, among whom was Captain Townley, who dyed most of them of their Wounds: On the 24th, one of our Men dyed, and the same Evening we sent one of our Prisoners to the President of Panama to carry him a Letter, wherein we required his giving up the five Free Booters who were his Prisoners, and to send us some Medicines for (as we said) the use of his own People, (though in truth it was for our own) we also complained heavily of the little quarter they had given to the three parties whereof I have spoken, whom they had inhumanly Massacred. He sent to us that Night the Commander of *Seppa*, who spoke a little French, with the following Letter.

*The President of Panama's Letter.*

Gentlemen,

I wonder that you who should understand how to make War, should require those Men of me that are in our Custody: Your rashness hath something contrary in it, to the Civility wherewith you ought to treat those People that were in your Power: If you do not use them well, God will perhaps be on our side on another occasion: And as for the little quarter you complain we have given, you see the contrary by those that have been in our Hands for some time past: If you please to put our Men you have in your power ashore, we will take care to have them cured of their Wounds.

*The President of Panama's Letter to the Free-Booters.*

We

## The Free Booters Voyage

We ordered the said Officer to carry him our answer by word of Mouth, that if they would not send us our Prisoners, we would send them the Heads of all the *Spaniards* in our Possession. On the 25th. we weighed Anchor, and sailed away, for fear they should for an Answer, send a Fireship, as they had done by the *English* two Years before, and burn us: On the 26th. in the Morning we Anchored at the Isles of *Pericos*, that are not above a League distant from *Panama*. Towards Noon we discovered a Ship under Sail, and sent out our Galley to know what she was; It was our own long Bark that was come from Carcening, wherein were sixty Men that were not present in the Fight. This day two of our wounded Men dyed, tho' all of them were but slightly wounded, which is no matter of wonder, for all the *Spaniards* Bullets were poysoned.

On the 27th. in the Morning came one to us from the Bishop, (who concerned himself much in this Business, for he had stirred up the President to fit our Ships against us) who brought us a Letter, which in substance was the same that follows.

The

# The Bishop of Panama's Letter.

Gentlemen,

THOUGH the President of *Panama* hath writ to you *The Bishop*  
 "very inconsiderately, I earnestly desire you to shed of *Pana-*  
 "no more of the Innocent Blood of those that are in your *ma's Let-*  
 "Power, all of them having been engaged by constraint *ter to the*  
 "to make War against you: The President obeys the *Free-*  
 "King's Orders, who forbids him to restore any Prison- *Booters.*  
 "ers of War; I'll do my endeavour to get the Men re-  
 "leased, take my Word and rest satisfied.

"I am to acquaint you that all the *English* are *Roman*  
 "Catholicks, that there is now a Church at *Jamaica*, and  
 "that those four that are with us, having changed their  
 "Religion, are willing to live amongst us.

This we saw was only a Pretence to detain our Men,  
 and this sly refusal, together with the Trouble we were  
 in, for the loss of those who dyed continually of their  
 Wounds, through the violence of the poyson that had  
 got into them, forced us, though with Reluctancy to  
 resolve to send twenty of his Peoples Heads to the Pre-  
 sident in a Canoe, and ordered him to be told, that if  
 by the 28th. he did not send us all our Men, we would  
 send him the Heads of all the rest of the Prisoners. I  
 confess this was a violent way of proceeding, but we  
 had no other method left us to bring the *Spaniards* to  
 Reason, and we knew them to be a People, who with-  
 out we had shewed this Resolution, would despise, and  
 be so much the more bent to ruin us in a short time, by  
 how

how much the more indifferent we shewed our selves, for they are usually no otherwise courageous, then when they believe their Enemies are of a dastardly Nature.

On the 28th. betimes in the Morning came a Person on Board, who brought us our five Men, whereof four were *English*, and the other a *French-Man*, together with some refreshments for the wounded Men, and a Letter to this purpose.

## The President of Panama's Letter.

Another  
Letter of  
the Presi-  
dent's.

"I send you all the Prisoners I had in my Power, and if there had been more, you should have had them deliver'd; But as for those that are in your Custody, I leave that to be managed according to your own Honesty and the practise of War.

Hereupon we sent him a dozen of the most wounded amongst their Men, and writ to him the following Letter,

into the South Sea in 1686.

97

## A Letter for the President of Panama.

HAD you used us in this manner when we sent to you for the Release of our five Men whom you sent us, you would have saved the Lives of those Wretches, whose Heads we have sent you, and whose Death you have been the occasion of: We give you a dozen Men by way of Exchange, and require Twenty thousand pieces of Eight for the Ransom of those that are still behind: But in default thereof, we shall put them out of Condition to send us poisoned Bullets again, which is so manifest a contravention of the Laws and Maxims of a just War, that if we were minded to punish according to the rigour of those Rules prescribed thereby, we should not have given one Man of them quarter.

Our five Men whom the Spaniards gave up to us, farther confirmed us in the account we had of the Massacre of the three fore-mentioned Parties in the River of Boca del Chica, whereof they themselves were Eyewitnesses. About twelve a Clock of the same day, which was the 18th we weighed, and anchored again at Boca to take in Water: And whilst Matters were concluded on between the Spaniards and us in respect to the ransoming of their people, we required they should come to a Treaty with us, which they consented to, and sent us daily divers Canoes full of Merchandize and other Refreshments, all which we had Dog-cheap of them, except Meal, Bisket, Mear, and other Provisions which they kept back, the reason whereof might be easily guessed at.

The Spaniards  
canoeers  
Letter to  
the President of  
Panama.

On



## The Free Booters Voyage

On the 29<sup>th</sup>. their Messenger returned, who gave an account that he had been about the City to get the Ransom, and that they had not got above six thousand pieces of Eight together, but as we were eager to be gone, we told them they must send us ten thousand pieces of Eight, or else we would go into the City to fetch them: the effect of this blustering was, that on the first of November came a Canoe to tell us, that a Bark would bring us next day the Summ we demanded; and on the second, two of our Men dyed.

As we saw nothing coming from *Panama*, we made ready and entered into the Port, and when we had hung our main Flag, we fired a Gun, they answered our Signal by putting up a white Flag upon one of the Bastions of the Fort, to give us notice that the Money was not yet ready, which made us put out again, and lye all Night at the Cape before the mouth of the Port: Next day came to us a Knight of *Maliba* in a Bark, wherein he brought us ten thousand pieces of Eight, and received the Prisoners from us. On the fifth, we anchored at *Ottogua*, in order to victual our Ships; on the seventh, two of our Men dyed.

On the Eighth, the *Indians* who had been our Guides in our passage from the North to the South-Sea, and who kept close with us ever since, were taken or gathered by the *Spaniards* upon this Island of *Ottogua*, in revenge for the Service they had done us: On the Eighth in the Morning we put fifty Men ashore, to see if we could find the place whereunto the *Spaniards* had withdrawn themselves, whom we could not find in their habitations, that we might know what they had done with those *Indians*, but we could find nothing, save their Money and Baggage, which they had hid in a Vault.

The same day at Noon Captain Townsley dyed of his Wounds: We threw his Body into the Sea according to his desire, with such Ceremonies as are usual upon these occasions: On the tenth we weighed and came to Anchor at *Kings-Islands*, and two days after, dyed one of our wounded Men. On the Seventeenth we put out with the little Frigate and long Bark, to sail to the port of *Panama*, to see whether they had any Ships there that might come to insult us, while our Vessels were a Carreening: We had a North-West-Wind, so that we could not reach the Isles of *Pericos* before the tenth, when we found our selves under the forts of that Town. We hoisted our low Sails, and as the Spaniards saw us coming to, they gave us three Guns, after they put up *Peruvian* Colours upon the Windward Bastion: But when we understood there was no Ship in that place, whereof we might be afraid, we went out a Cruising between *Tavoga* and *Sippilla*, we being resolved to watch those two Ships that were to come from *Lima*, and in the mean time we sent one of our *Pirogues* to bid our Men careen the Vessels with all Expedition, and that they need fear no danger from *Panama*. We had very bad Weather in this Channel; It blew round all the points of the Compass, with such violent Whirlwinds, that the Sea grew very boisterous: But on the 28th. the Weather proving more moderate, we discovered a Ship sailing all along the Coast of the main Land, after which we sent two *Pirogues* in chase: She would have entred into the Port of *Panama*, but they firing upon her from the Fort, as believing she was one of our Ships, she passed by, and our *Pirogues* took her: She came from *Nato*, and was laden with Provisions and Sugars, which she was carrying to our Enemies, who had the Charity to put her back to us.

On

Th

On the Eleventh, being not able to see any thing of what we waited for, we sailed for the *Kings Islands*, and as the Moon shone bright, we found the Current very strong there also, which obliged us to anchor in the Channel, with all the Tides contrary to us, from twenty to forty fathom Water: We arrived on the 16th at the Island where our Ships were careening, and found them all ready done.

The Sea round about these *Kings Islands* whereof I have spoken so much, is full of a great many very large Whales, who are infested by a Fish they call *Espada*, that assaults them continually with a kind of Fish-bone like unto a Sabre, fastened to their Heads, and this makes those monstrous Animals to give such Leaps and Rebounds, that they raise themselves continually above the Water: But to return from a great Fish to a small one, I shall say, that besides *Pearl-Oysters*, which are to be found in those parts in great numbers, there are also others that are exceeding good, and so large, that they are forced to cut them into four parts to eat them, and they are when roasted, exceeding white,

We departed on the 18th. and sailed for those Islands that are in the Main, where we came to an Anchor on the Nineteenth in the Morning, and on the Twentieth went out with our Galley and two Pirogues to go to a large Plantation which stands two Leagues to seaward of giving Orders at the same time to our Ships to come and Anchor there Three Days after us. We possessed ourselves of the said Plantation, and seized all the Bunk belonging thereto, who told us that a Coulier came from *Chiriquita* to *Panama*, who reported he had seen Two Ships, and as many Barks, belonging to the Freebooters, Anchor at the Port of that Town, who came for Provision there, when with us were some who were, and could hardly believe those Freebooters could have left so good a Coast as that of *Panama*, as they were gone, they were gone, so come thither is much worse, which difference has its rise from the abundance and quality of the Provision that the former produce, whereof I shall give an Account hereafter. We were also informed by the Persons, as it was very true, that a Galley which was well enough was in Building at *Panama* was finished, that she carried Two hundred Oars, five pieces of Cannon, and forty Pieces of Iron, that there were, what with those come from *Carthagena* and *Porto Bello*, Five hundred Men come to go on Board her and Two Pirogues, and that they watched the opportunity of our passing before their Port, as we had used to do, to the end they might put out in the Night, and surprise us during the absence of our other Ships, whom they supposed to be still a careening. On the 24th. we anchored at *Ottopqua*, to gather Mace and Rice that were still standing on the Ground; and next Day being apprehensive, according to the Report of our Prisoners, that there might be Freebooters at *Chiriquita*, we sent a Bark thither to give them Notice, if she found it to be really so, that we would come up to them as soon as we had taken in some Provision along the Coast: we got Nineteen Prisoners on the 29th. a Shoar, and made ready to depart with an Easterly Wind: we were got on the 30th. in the Morning over-against the Bay of *la Villa*, we straitened our round Top, being afraid to be out by it: we embarked in the Evening on our Canoes, and on the 31st. at Midnight went a Shoar. We were

quickly discovered by a Party that went the Round, which made us use all the diligence imaginable in order to get into the Town, before they had time to make themselves ready: But our Guide having lead us out of the way, another Party making the Round passed by, who no sooner saw us, but they made all the haste they could to get away, yet we fired upon them presently, which dismounted three of them and one we took Prisoner, who told us we were still three Leagues distant from *la Villia*, and that we were gone out of our way, that all the People there were at their Arms, and that they had had a Reinforcement of Six hundred Men sent them from *Panama*. Upon this information we stopped short, and were forced to return back again, because we knew very well that we were discovered, and that so we lost all our Labour. Before we went on Board; we went to eat to an *Estancia* that was half a League off from the Sea-side, from whence the *Spaniards* brought us back by charging our Rear, from time to time, till that we had rejoyned our Canoes, when on when we had re embarked, we found our selves so weary and fatigued, that we deferred till next Day to go and joyn our Ship, and this being perceived by the *Spaniards*, they fired so furiously upon us, that we were constrained to go lye at Anchor farther from the Shore.

They beat  
the *Spaniards*.

On the 2d. of *November*, we rejoyned our Ships, we were cruising in that Bay, In the Evening we anchored between the Island of *Iguana* and the Continent against some Hattos we saw there, with a Design to go and see for some Provision; to which end we went on Shoar, on the third at Noon, where we found the *Spaniards* got together, with whom we fought for half an Hour; They killed us one Man, and wounded another. But they could not hinder us to go to the next Hamlet, where we found no sort of Cattle, for the *Spaniards* had carried away, and drove them before them; here we lay this Night, but the *Spaniards* being unwilling to let us have any Rest, we were forced at Midnight to march out against them, and made them quit the Field to us.

On the Fourth we returned on Board our Vessels, having brought only some little Refreshments along with us to our wounded Men; and that Evening sailed away with a West Wind, keeping out to Sea to the Fifth of *November*, when we returned to Land; at Midnight we

steered South South-East, as near the Wind as we could till the Sixth, that we were brought back to the Shoar; about the middle of the following Night, we discovered a Vessel under sail and joyned her: It was the Bark we had sent to *Chiriquita*, who meeting with very bad Weather, was constrained to put back under the *Morn* or Cape of *Puercos*: On the Seventh being not able to double the *Morn* because of the contrary West Winds, we sent our Galley to *Chiriquita*, instead of our Bark; we could not double the *Morn* before the Twelfth; and we had a blast of Wind in the Night that in it self was favourable enough for our Course, but the Currents carried us so to Leeward, that we were still on the Thirtieth Six Leagues to Leeward of the *Morn*. We steered West North-West, bearing upon the *Isle of Tygers*, the which stands Six Leagues North and South from the Continent, between the River of St. *James* and this *Morn* or Cape of *Puercos*: on the Fourteenth at Night we were apprehensive lest we should be drove too near the Shoar.

On the 16th. we arrived at St. *John's* Island, where we met with our Galley returned from *Chiriquita*, having found nothing of what she sought for in that Place, which still increased the Suspicion we had already entertained, that the President of *Panama* had caused a false Report to be spread abroad, that some Freebooters had been there, that so he might get us to quit his Port, and make way by our absence for those Ships that were expected from *Pern*, to enter into *Panama*, and this so much the more heightened our Courage, in that we came to understand one Day after another the cowardize and dastardly Nature of this proud Nation, who with her Three Deck Ships mounted each of them with Eighteen pieces of Cannon, and having Four hundred Men on Board, were afraid of pitiful Barks, who had but Four Guns and some Petereroes in all, with which however we waited for them.

On the Eighteenth we brought our Gallies and Canoes a Shoar in order to clean them; two Days after we departed with an intention to take some Prisoners, from whom we might obtain certain Intelligence of the Truth or Falshood of any Freebooters having been at *Chiriquita*, for they might have been gone before we had sent thither, and upon our departure we appointed our Ships

The Free-  
booters  
take St.  
Lorenzo.

to Rendezvous at the Isle of St. Peter, there to tarry till we returned. On the Morning of the 24th. we went a Shoar, Two Leagues to Leeward of the River *Paché Nuevo*, where, after we had travelled till about Four in the Afternoon to discover some Houses, we saw Two Horsemen, one of whom we dismounted but he made his Escape, and took the other, of whom we asked where we were; And being informed that there was about half a League from thence to a Burrough called St. *Lorenzo*, we went that way and arrived there in the Twilight: Here we took a great many Prisoners, who told us they had heard of no Freebooters from the time we had taken *Chiriquita*, which now fully confirmed us in a belief of the Amusement the President of *Panama* had entertained us with: on the 26th. we returned to the Sea-side with our Prisoners, and discovered our Ships that were sailing to the Place of Rendezvous, to whom we sent a Canoe to give them Notice to come and Anchor at an Island which is over-against, and Three quarters of a League distant from the Port of St. *Lorenzo*.

A De-  
scription  
of St. Lo-  
renzo.

This Burrough stands a League and an half within Land, and is in my Opinion no more than a Village; It's Inhabited partly with *Spaniards*, and partly *Indians*, who, as I have already said, have been reduced by degrees, and submitted themselves to the *Spaniards*: It's a very open Country, and a Man is so far from being sure of what Place he is in, that he would believe himself to be at *Chiriquita*, when here, so like is the one to the other, as well in respect to the Burrough and Places adjacent, as for the course and disposition of the Rivers, wherewith it is watered.

On the 26th. in the Evening, we went on Board our Ships with our Prisoners, and agreed with them upon what quantity of Provision they were to give us for their Ransom; on the 27th. we sent the *Father* or Curate of the Place a Shoar, to dispatch the sending of it: on the 28th. the *English* who made part of our Fleet desired us to come together in order to make a Division of the Ships and Artillery we had taken, as being desirous to be in a Ship by themselves, which was presently done: On the First of *December*, we sent a Canoe to the Continent, and the Men that were in her told us, they had seen a Troop of Horse who threatened them at a distance with their Cutlasses, which made us



at Night to the number of a Hundred Men go a Shoar to see them : on the Second we waited for them in their Town of *St. Lorenzo*, but no body appearing, we burnt it. As soon as the *Spaniards* saw the Fire, the Commander of the Place came to offer us a Summ of Money for the Ransom of the Prisoners, which we refused, because we had much more need of Provision : We told them if they did not send us the same, pursuant to the Agreement we had already made with their People, they should have no more to do than to send for their Heads away from the Island. In the said Commander's House we found the following Letter writ by the Tenient of *Chiriquita*.

*A Letter from the Tenient of Chiriquita, to the Commander of the Town of St. Lorenzo.*

S I R,

I Have sent you by way of reinforcement all the Men *The Tenient of Chiriquita's Letter, to the Commander of St. Lorenzo.* which I could get together : use your endeavours to take one or other of the Enemy, to the end we may know what they design to do, about which our Generals are mightily concerned : Order the Cattle, to be drove away from the Sea-side, and put them into a Place fit to lay an Ambuscade, to the end that the Enemy severing from one another according to their usual manner in order to kill them ; It may be so much the more easie for you to secure some one of them : But if you cannot do that, lay an Ambuscade at a Place where you think they will put our Prisoners a Shoar, and let them shew you those Persons whom they have observed to be most respected on Ship Board ; so that if God gives us the Advantage over them, do not you cut them off, but send them to me ; especially interrogate the Women, that you may know whether they have met with some weak Fellow that hath made any Discovery unto them.

This Letter made us keep more upon our Guard than otherwise we would have done, and we returned on Board our Ships that Evening : On the Third we went in a Canoe a Shoar, to see whether they had brought the Provision agreed upon for the Ransom of their People, but instead of that we saw them busie in raising an Entrench-

ment near the Place where they expected we should make our Descent, which gave us to understand they pursued the Orders prescribed to them by the foresaid Letter. On the Fourth, we put those Prisoners ashore upon the Island where we had anchored, and left them there, without any further expecting of their Ransom, that so we might secure our selves against that Ambuscade whereunto we must have fallen, had we sent them to the same Place where we took them.

The  
Bucaniers in  
great  
danger of  
being  
Ship-  
wracked.

In the Evening we weighed and sailed for the Bay of *Boca del Toro*, with an Easterly Breeze that put us forward: on the Fifth we doubled the Point of *Porico*, which is Ten Leagues to Leeward of that Bay; at the height whereof we were becalmed till the Tenth; when towards Evening a small Wind blowing from the Sea arose, which brought us to the Mouth of the Bay: But the same was followed by so Terrible a Tempest, that our Ship lay for an Hour in such a manner that she was under Water as far as her great Scuttle; and what amazed us was, that our Ropes, Sheets, and Clutings, were cut so cleverly as if the same had been done with an Hatchet: However, this tearing of our Rigging served us in good stead, for had it not been for that, we had quickly gone to be Meat for Fishes: for our Sails being held by no other than the Wind and Arms alone, the Sails, Yards, yet stretched themselves out along the Masts, and our Ship by little and little happily recovered her self: The Wind was allay'd in the Dusk of the Evening by a great deal of Rain that fell, wherewith we were becalmed; and on the Eleventh we had a Southerly Wind, which brought us to an Anchor in the Bottom of the Bay.

The Mouth of this Bay of *Boca del Toro*, is about Four or Five Leagues in extent from one Point to another, and Eight in depth. If you would enter into it with safety, you must keep the Whip of your Rudder to Starboard, because 'tis dangerous to keep to the East side. Here is good Anchorage every where, and also a Covert; one may anchor in the bottom of the Bay, within Pistol shot of Land.

There are Four Islands contained in it, that stand very near unto the main Land to the East and North-East, but it is not safe to lie near them, because of the many Rocks that are there. Several fine Rivers discharge themselves into it, and lead us up them to diverse *Indian* Caribbees, who

who have neither Peace nor are in amity with any People whatsoever, no more than those whom I have mentioned when I spoke of *Cape la Vella* and *Boca del Drago*; which yet does not hinder the *Spaniards* from passing their Caravans through the midst of their Country, when they come from *Costa Rica* to *Panama*: But then they must be very well guarded; and the great Road through which they pass, is not above Six Leagues from the Sea-side.

On the Twelfth we went to find out Trees fit both to make Canoes of for carrying our Water, and Canoes of War: on the 25th, being *Christmas-Day*, after we had, according to Custom, said our Prayers in the Night, one of our Quarter-Masters being gone a Shoar, in order to take care about our eating some Victuals, (for our Ships being a careening, all our Provisions were then put out) one of our Prisoners, who served us as Cook, stabbed him with a Knife in Six several places, wherewith crying out he was presently relieved, and the Assassine punished with Death.

#### CHAP. IV.

#### *The Freebooters Voyage to the South Seas in 1687.*

ON the First of *January*, 1687. our Canoes being ready, we left this Bay and sailed for that of *Caldera*; that we might victual there, and make an end of careening our Ships: we left them there on the Second, after we had given Orders to those who had the charge of them, to come and joyn us in the Bay, and we embarked Two hundred Men in our Canoes, to cross over to *la Cagna*, which is a small Island very inconvenient to draw near to, and stands about a League North and South from the main Land, between *Boca del Toro* and *Caldaira*. We were six days in our passage before we could get thither, having only put forward in the Night for fear of being discovered: Being come on the Sixth at Night into the Bay, our Guide made us put in under a Covert, and told us that to prevent our being discove-

A pretty  
adventure of  
the Free-  
booters.

red, we should go a Shoar in that Place, which we had no sooner done, but we were conducted into a Marish, in the sou. west places whereof we sunk in the Mud to the very Middle, insomuch that Five of our Men of whom we could see no more than their Heads, did not give us a small trouble to pull them out with Cords we made fast to Mangles, which are Trees of that Name growing in this Marish: So that not knowing how we should be able to free our selves from this wretched Place, we lifted up our Guide to the top of a Tree, to endeavour by the help of Moon-light to discover how far we might be from sound Land: But he finding himself now at liberty, skipped like a Monkey from Tree to Tree, and railed all the while at us, who could neither see him nor do any more that threaten him, which I believe he little mattered. We spent the rest of the Night in making about an Hundred steps in this sweet Place, where we exactly went the Rounds, and from whence we could not come out till break of Day, and not then neither, without being bedaubed all over from top to toe, and having our Arms laden with Mud, When we were in a Condition to reflect a little upon our selves, and that we saw Two hundred Men in the same Habit, and so curiously equipped, there was not one of us who forgot not his Toyle, to laugh at the posture he found both himself and the rest in. At length, after having inveighed against our Guide who had so cunningly saved himself, when he saw us stuck fast in the Mire, we went into our Canoes again, where we cleaned our selves as well as we could, as we did also our Arms, and after having left our Covert we met with a very pretty River, whereinto we entered and went up it about Two Leagues, where we landed at an Entrenchment. There we found the remains of the Two Ships which the Spaniards had burnt, when an English Freebooter, whose Name was *Beisharp*, came to careen in this Bay, which made us suppose, according to the Relation that had been given us concerning it, that it was the Embarking Place belonging to *Nicoya*. We followed the Road we found there, and marching about Two Leagues, at the end of them we entered, by the help of the barking of the Dogs, into a Burrough called *Sancta Catalina*, where we took all the Inhabitants Prisoners. Now as we were informed by them there, that there was no more than

They take  
Sancta  
Catalina,  
the Town  
of Ni-  
coya, and  
a good  
Booty.

Three

three Leagues to *Nicoya*, we mounted sixty Men on Horseback, in order to go thither; but we met half-way with two Horsemen, whom we could not reach, and who returning back with full Speed, gave the Inhabitants notice of our March towards them, in so much that by the time we were got thither, they had already hid all their Effects, and were expecting our coming upon the Place of Arms, from whence we drove them, after we had sustained their first discharge, with which they neither killed nor wounded one of our Men. While we were gathering what Provision we could together, we sent out small Parties into the Neighbouring Places, who brought us some Money, and among other things, the Governour's Plate, and all his Moveables.

On the 8th. we left the Town, and went to rejoin our People at *Sancta Catalina*, where we staid the remainder of that day: At Night came two of the Enemy's Sentinels thither, one of whom we killed; for they, not knowing we were in the Town, were come to give the *Spaniards* notice that they saw three Sail of Ships enter into the Bay, and that they were Enemies; but this Intelligence came too late. On the 9th. we left this Place to go join our Canoes again, on which being embarked, we left one of our Prisoners ashore to go and raise the Ransom of those we carryed along with us; and on the 10th. we got on board our Ships that lay at Anchor in the Bay. We had found among the Governour of *Nicoya's* Papers three Letters, which were these that follow.

The Governour or General of the Province of Costa Rica  
his Letter to the President of Panama; dated May 2d.  
1686.

S I R,

THIS Letter is to let you know of the taking of The Government of our dear Town of *Granada* by Pirates on the twentieth of the last Month: They came ashore at a Place of Costa Rica where we had no Sentinels, we supposing there was no occasion for it, because the Sea is so high there; they passed on cross a Wood like so many Wild Beasts: We had the good Fortune to have notice of it by our Fishermen, tho' we were already upon our Guard. We had since the News we had concerning them from

" *Lesparso*

“ *Lesparso* and *Nicoya*. They lay on the Ninth at the  
 “ fine House of Don *Diego Ravalo*, Knight of *St. James*,  
 “ we were very well prepared to receive them; but the  
 “ way of Fighting practised by these Men did so much  
 “ astonish ours, that we could not make that Resistance  
 “ we had promised our selves we should do: They fell  
 “ on briskly, singing and dancing, as if they had been  
 “ going to a Feast; at length, after we had been fought  
 “ bravely by them, they won the place of Arms, with  
 “ the loss of Thirty of their Men, according to the  
 “ Estimate of Don *Anisio de Fortuna*, a Person of  
 “ good Experience in War, who came to us some Months  
 “ before. We are also of Opinion that they have lost  
 “ their General, for we saw a Man, that distinguished  
 “ himself from the rest by his Habit, fall.

“ After they had staid for the space of four Days in  
 “ our Fort, they sent to require us to Ransom the Town  
 “ and Prisoners they had taken; but we being not very  
 “ forward to return an Answer to their Proposal, they  
 “ burnt it, and went their ways: Seignior Don *John de*  
 “ *Castilla*, Sergeant-Major, went out to observe them  
 “ with his Men; but not knowing they took away our  
 “ Artillery, he attacked these Enemies of God and  
 “ Goodness about a Mile from the Town; but they  
 “ being resolved to make their way through, or to die  
 “ upon the spot, slew so great a Number of his Men,  
 “ that the rest fled, and left their Commanders alone.

“ We have taken one of their Men, who told us  
 “ they came to our Province upon no other Design  
 “ than to know the strength of it, tho’ it’s not to be  
 “ doubted, if they had found our Vessels at Anchor,  
 “ but they would have made use of them to pass, by  
 “ the way of our Lake, to the North Sea, and have  
 “ abandoned their Comrades, who looked after their  
 “ Ships, and their way would have been infallibly by  
 “ *Carthage*. Monsieur the Governour takes his Measures  
 “ thereupon, and continues to Fortifie his Retrench-  
 “ ment. I shall give you a more ample Account of  
 “ this Business by the first Caravan.

*The President of Panama's Letter to the Governour  
of Costa Rica.*

S I R,

THIS is to give you Notice of the Advices I have received from *Carthagena*, by the way of *Puerto Sident's* *Isle*. The King of *France* supposing he had received some Affront from our Nation, sent Eighty Sail of all sorts before *Calix*, to demand Contribution; and being there was so vast an inequality of Force upon this Occasion, we agreed to give him half a Million, to withdraw his Ships, and return to their Ports.

You know that my Lord Bishop on the 22<sup>d</sup>. of August forced me to send out three Ships to fight the Pirates, that continued still before our Port, and took all the Barks and Canoes that were coming in. Our Ships surprized them at Break of Day, which made one of the Pirates slip his Cable, and this was done, not for to fly away; but through the Skill of the Commander. I saw the Fight from my Ramparts, the Honour whereof I thought infallibly to have appertained unto us. Having seen them draw near the Shoar, I sent a Chaloop to bring away the Anchor of that Vessel that had slipped her Cable, in order to fasten her in our Port. As soon as ever I saw them untrappled, I dispatched away two long Barks or Gallies to go and learn the News, and to bring those of the Enemy that survived before me, tho' my Orders were, that no Quarter should be given to any that were found upon Deck, to the end we might rid the World of these Enemies of God and his Saints; who Profane his Churches, and destroy his Servants. In the Evening they sent one of our Men to require me to give up five Men of theirs, that I had Prisoners in my Town, and as my Prince forbid me to do so, I refused it; but these new *Turks* sent me Twenty Heads, and I bethought my self, that for the preventing of the slaughter of so many Christians, I ought to send them their Men, with Ten Thousand Pieces of Eight, for the Ransom of Ninety of our People, that were almost all wounded, which they sent us out of Three Hundred and Thirty they had taken with them. Thus you see how God is pleased to afflict us on all sides, let us take all for the sake of his Suffering for us,

*The*



The Tenient of Sanfonat's Letter to the President  
of Panama.

The Tenient of Sanfonat's Letter to the President of Panama.

Captain Francis Gagniet is separated from his Fl at *Realeguo*, and gone ashore with an Hundred and Fifty Men upon the Isles of *Napalla*: We had three of their Men, who told us, that those of them that were gone up towards *Panama*, had a Design to return to the North Sea. The Peace we have made with the *Indians* will do us more hurt than good; we were concerned at least to observe their Motion, and stop up that Passage. Those People seeing no Place whereunto to retire, became as so many enraged Dogs. We had no need of that, for where-ever these Impious Wretches set their Feet on Land, they always win the Victory. If you please, let them have this Passage, that we may be at rest; they came ten or a dozen times ashore, without knowing what they wanted. Send us a Man who understands the way of Sea-fighting, for I am of Opinion, they will never be able to get off from these Islands, and so it will be convenient to go and take them there.

On the 12th. as we saw no Ransom come, we set out to go our selves to *Nicoya* to fetch it, where we arrived next day; we sent out several Parties also in search of some Victuals, which the People had hid, and sent one to treat with them about the Ransoming of their Town. The Tenient told us, the Governour was gone for Relief to *Costa Rica*, and that he had no Orders to pay any Ransom farther than what had been agreed on for the Prisoners, which was all ready, and that he would not have us be impatient, if we received not the same as soon as we desired it, because they having no Canoes, whereby to send the Money to us by Sea, which might have been done in half a day's time (the Passage was so short that way) had been obliged to have it carried on Mules backs by Land, which was four days Journey. When we had received this Answer, we sent again to tell him, that our Intention was to have been gone next day, but that however, seeing he waited in expectation of Succours, we would wait also; but at length growing impatient that things were so long retarded, we went our ways on the seventeenth.

Two days after, being the 19<sup>th</sup>. they came to the *The Spa-*  
 sea-side, over-against the Place where our Vessels lay at niards pay  
 Anchor, and brought us the Ransom they had promised *the Ran-*  
 for the Prisoners, whom we sent ashore at the same *son of the*  
 time. We gave them a Letter, which we writ to the *Inhabi-*  
 Governour, wherein we sent him word, if he would let *tants of*  
 us know when his Reinforcement came, we should not *Nicoya.*  
 fail to attend him, and that in the mean time, if he did  
 not send us so many Horse-load of Biscuit and Maes as  
 we required of him, for the Ransom of the Town, he  
 might assure himself we should go and burn it.

On the 20<sup>th</sup>. we weighed Anchor, and went to one  
 of the Islands in this Bay to careen our Vessels. On the  
 21<sup>d</sup>. we went off in our Canoes, leaving no more Men  
 with our Ships than were necessary to Careen them, and  
 sought out some Hatto's, where we might get necessary  
 Subsistence, to the end we might lay by, and keep in  
 store those Provisions we had got together on Board,  
 and whereof we should have occasion in the Execution  
 of an Enterprize we had formed upon the Town of  
*Sanaguilla*. On the 22<sup>d</sup>. at Night we went ashore at  
*Caldara*, where we were discovered by the Sentinels, who,  
 as they made their escapes, set fire unto the *Savana's*, in  
 order to stop our Passage; however, this did not hinder  
 us to reach the little Town of *Lesparso*, which had been  
 almost entirely abandoned since the time of our being  
 there before.

On the 23<sup>d</sup>. we had the Curiosity, or rather Humour  
 to pursue the first Road that offered it self to our view  
 at our departure, and after we had marched about a  
 league on, we discovered about Two Hundred Horse  
 upon our Flank, and in our Rear: A *Spaniard*, who was  
 advanced before the rest, made a thousand Mouths at  
 us, and reviled us as much, which gave us an occasion  
 to hide five of our Men, that were behind the rest, in  
 the Grass, that was exceeding high upon both sides of  
 the way, and leave our main Body to march on; so that  
 when our *Spaniard*, who still followed our People, went  
 to pass forwards, he was quickly dismounted, and we made  
 him make a Grimace in good earnest: We questioned  
 him according to our usual Ceremony, that is to say,  
 by putting him on the Rack, about the place where we  
 were: He told us, we were on the High-way of *Car-*  
*age*, and that all Places were quite forsaken from thence

to

to this Town, which was no less than Seven and Twenty Leagues, out of an Apprehension his Country had, that we should go and force them to grant us Passage to the North Sea, as their chief Officers had caused it to be reported among them. He also gave us Information that they had Four Hundred Men making their Route, whereof the Two Hundred we saw, were of that Number, being detach'd to observe the time of our Landing, that so they might retire to a strong Retrenchment, they had fix Leagues on this side the Town, for to bring us back, in case we made that way. Being thus admonished, we thought it not convenient to go any further, our Design being no other then, than to know the Country, and to get us some Victuals; so we returned to *Lesparso*, and on the 24<sup>th</sup>. rejoyned our Canoes.

On the 26<sup>th</sup>. we went ashoar, under the Guidance of our new Prisoner, who brought us to a Sugar Plantation, where we divided into two Companies to go to two Hatto's, and took all the People we could meet with there, who informed us, that several other Hatto's and Sugar Plantations in the Neighbourhood, had all together set out Two Hundred armed Men, who were gone in the Evening to beat back the Crew of three of the Enemy's Canoes, that had landed at *Colebra*, where they had killed and wounded divers *Spaniards*. We presently imagined it must have been Captain *Grognet* that was come up that Coast, and therein we were mistaken; we immediately returned back to the other side, to go with our Canoes to meet him, and in our way heard the noise of several Cannon-shot and firing of Arms, towards the Place where we had left our Ship Careening, which made us double our Pace, and we embarked in our Canoes.

*Captain Grognet rejoyns the other Freebooters.* As soon as we were got on Board our Ships, we found Captain *Grognet* with three Canoes there, who with his Crew had been conducted to the said Place by one of our Canoes, whom they had fortunately met in crossing this Bay; and the Firing we had heard, was made by the one and the other for Joy of their meeting together.

*Grognet's Adventures.* *Grognet* told us, that he came up this Coast with Intention to find out an uninhabited Place, to the end he might Land without Opposition; and to fetch a compass

compass cross the Country, to get to the North Sea. We laid the Danger whereunto he must necessarily expose so small a Number of Men before him, (they being no more than Sixty in all) that if he were resolved to undertake so dangerous an Enterprize, it were better he would stay with us until we found a favourable Opportunity to repass together to that Sea, as being better able jointly to surmount those Difficulties which we might be exposed to thereby. Being overcome with our Reasons, he staid with us; and after we had given him an Account of the Adventures we had had since our separation from him, he also in his turn entertained us with a recital of his, and told us, he had made several Descents in the Bay of *Napalla* with various Success, and that among other things in one of those Descents, the *Spaniards* had taken three of his Men, who had been exchanged some time after for other Prisoners; But that the *Spaniards* had so far corrupted those three Men with the fine Promises they made them, while they were in their Custody, that upon their Return, they insinuated into their Comrades, in order to betray them, a design of going to a very considerable Gold Mine, which was Fourteen Leagues off from the Sea-side, and as many from *Tinsigal*, and that being pre-possess'd of making their Fortunes there, they had left the Island where they were, to the Number of an Hundred and Twelve Men, and went ashore upon the Continent, with an Intention to go to that Mine, under the Guidance of the Prisoners, who knew the way, and towards which they journeyed only in the Night-time, for fear of being discovered; that those three Men who had been exchanged, and sold their Friends to the *Spaniards*, pretended they were weary, and had occasion to rest, that so they might not go with the rest; that for all this, they departed two hours after, bringing to the *Spaniards*, who waited in a convenient Place for them, all the Prisoners that were ashore in the said Bay, and after some time, carryed off the Arms and Ammunition of all the rest of our Comrades that staid behind upon the Island, who had no mistrust of them, whereof they laded a Canoe; but that the Treachery in the mean time had not had all the projected effect, and that he and his Men got to the Mine without Opposition, because the *Spaniards*, who had made all things ready for Massacring of them, when going

going ashore, got thither later than they should have done, and that through the fault of our Renegades, who had too much precipitated the departure of their Comrades, whom they thus saved by pressing them on to their ruin: That they had got no great Purchase at the Mines, because there had been Orders given before for saving their Treasure; tho' after all, it was not above an hour's space that they had got away Four Hundred and Fifty Pounds of Gold, that was all ready prepared. That yet they found some Pounds still left, and took some Prisoners, who were surprized by them, as not expecting their Company so soon, and that they did believe they had been defeated by the way, as the Design had been formed against them.

That when they had staid two days at this Mine, and being intent upon returning with his Men to the Sea-side, he met with a Body of *Spaniards* on the way, waiting his coming, and making a meen as if they would now upon his Return, make amends for the fault they had committed, in not preventing his Defence. Their Commander sent a Trumpet to Captain *Gregorio* to know if he were minded to fight; who being answered, that he desired nothing more: The *Spaniards* sent a second time to tell him, that if he would give up his Prisoners, they would grant him free Passage; but he boldly answered, That if they desired to have them, they must come and fetch them by the help of their Arms; and as for the Passage, he would open his way through in spite of them. That having made themselves ready, the *Spaniards* had not the Courage to stay for them, contenting themselves only with firing a few Musquets at a distance, and so fairly took to their Heels, while he pursued his March towards his Camp, which had, as Good Luck would have it, been left in a Place, where the Renegades could not shew them to the Enemy.

He told us moreover, that some time after his return from that Mine, they had been at *Pueblo Viego*, by the way of a River that runs not above four Leagues, and discharges her self into the Bay of *Napalla*; that they had surprized the Town, and that after having rested there for some days, as they were coming back to rejoin their Canoes, they had met with an Ambuscade laid for them under the Covert of a Retrenchment

guard

guarded by Six Hundred Men out of the Garrison of *Asagueno*, which began to be inhabited again, with whom they had fought a long time : But finding the *Spaniards* stood to it more tightly than ordinary, they threw themselves into their Retrenchment, where killing all about them that made any resistance, they wrought a great slaughter amongst them ; That one part of them continued Prisoners, while the other fled without any more ado, and forsook their Retrenchment as well as the three Colours they had set up there : That the *Freemasters* had lost no more than three Men, but that the *Spaniards* in the heat of the Action killed several Prisoners of the one and the other Sex, which the other had brought away from the Town, who after this went on board their Vessels : That some Months after, not concurring with a Design which Fourscore and five of his Men had taken, of going down towards the Isles of *California*, he had resolved with the Sixty that remained with him to go up towards *Panama*, where happening, as I have told you, to meet us, we gave both him and his Men room in our Ships, where we learnt this whole Relation from them.

On the 30<sup>th</sup>. we quitted our Ships, and went in our Boats into several Rivers which discharge themselves into this Bay of *Caldaira*, and amongst the rest into a very fine one, whereon we went up Ten Leagues, in which space we always found her of the same depth and breadth. Several *Spaniards* told us, that a matter of Forty or Fifty Leagues higher there was a Mountain, whence arises the Spring of this River, and on the other side of the same Mountain arises also a Spring, from which runs the River *St. John*, that discharges its self into the North Sea at the *White Point*.

We took a large Canoe, laden with Tallow, in this River, which some time after was of great use to us, by way of Food, as we went to *Queaquilla* : We also found the Harro's on this River's side, where we refreshed ourselves till the 6<sup>th</sup>. of *February*, when we returned on board our Ships. On the 12<sup>th</sup>. we departed, in order to go the third time and visit *Nicoya* ; We arrived the next day in the Evening, and presently detached several Parties to get us Intelligence concerning the *Spaniards*, who never appeared since they had threatned us with their Suecours, instead of the Ransom we required

The Free-  
booters  
burn Ni-  
coya.

of them for saving their Town, which they still refusing to satisfie us for, we burnt it this Third time, and on the 17th. went our ways.

But though we were forced to chastise the *Spaniards* in this manner, we shewed our selves very exact in the Preservation of the Churches, into which we carried the Pictures and Images of the Saints which we found in particular Houses, that they might not be exposed to the rage and burning of the *English*, who were not much pleased with these sorts of Precautions; they being Men that took more satisfaction and pleasure to see one Church burnt, than all the Houses of *America* put together. But as it was our turn now to be the stronger Party, they durst do nothing that derogated from that respect we bore to all those things.

A Description  
of Ni-  
coya.

*Nicoya* was a small Town, Pleasant enough taken altogether; Its Churches are very fine, and the Houses as ill built; they have a pretty River there, that runs about one half of the Town round; but when one is within, you cannot know which way it is you have entered, nor how to go out, becaufe of the height of the Mountains wherewith it is surrounded every way.

We were no sooner gone from this Town, but the *Spaniards* sent to set Fire to the Roads through which we were to pass, which yet we happily escaped, because they had but just begun to do it: We took one of the Men who was hemmed in between us and the Fire, and who conducted us to several *Esfancia's*, from which we did not return before the 20th. And on the 22d. we saw Forty Prisoners a Shoar, who were too chargeable to be kept on Board with us.

How the  
Spani-  
ards burn  
the Roads.

Some Men perhaps may be amazed at what I have said concerning the burning of the Roads, but they would be much more so had they seen it as we have done: there were two sorts of Places where this burning was wont to be practised, to wit, in the Savana's and Woods when the former were set on Fire, whose Grass was almost as high as our Heads, and also as dry in a manner as Powder, we found our selves so besieged on the right and left side of the Road with the Flame, that it made us feel it to some purpose, tho' the same were of no long duration; But when these Roads lead through Covert and woody Countries, as in the present Occasion whereof I am speaking, and that once fire be set thereunto, on



may see, according to the course of the Wind, the Country for several Leagues burnt in a little time, to which the dryness of things doth very much contribute, the Sun being exceeding hot at that Season.

On the Twenty third we sent our Quarter-Master on Board the *English*, to make an agreement with them: we proposed to go in Conjunction with them to take *Queaquilla* (where the *Spaniards* drove a great Trade by Sea) upon Condition that if we took Two Ships, we should cast Lots who should chose, and that in case there were but one taken, that then we would put Fifty Men of each Nation on board her, till such time as we could take another, which they would not agree to, as insisting upon the First choice: So that seeing we could not bring them to comply, we parted as well from them as from Captain *Grogniet* and Fifty of our Men who staid on board him; so that they had an Hundred and forty two Men in their Ship, and we an Hundred and Sixty two in our Frigate, and long Bark.

*They part from the English, and Grogniet again.*

On the Twenty fourth we weighed and set sail for *Queaquilla*, which is the First maritime Town on the South Coast as you go thither from *Panama*; we made all the sail we could to get thither before the *English*, who had formed the same Design as we had done; we lay by till the 25th. to get out of the Bay, and in passing from the *White Cape*, we steered South South-West, South and by South-West, and directly South to the 28th. in the Evening, that we had on our Starboard side a West North-West Wind, bearing us to the South, which lasted till the 29th. when we were becalmed in the Night: On the First of *March* towards Noon arose a pretty fresh Gale from the North, which made us bear South South-West, and South South-East, till the 4th. in the Morning, when an Easterly Breeze took us and made us bear South; on the Fifth arose a North-West Wind; and on the Eighth at Noon we passed the Equinoctial Line, leaving the Isles of *Galapa*, which are below to the West, a douzen Leagues to Leeward.

These are Eight Islands that stand North and South of the *White Cape*, and East and West from *Queaquilla*; they are full of Sea Tortoises that land there every Hour of the Day, and you cannot find a Place to tread on or walk along in the Woods, for the great numbers of land Tortoises, Lizards, and Agoutils, that retire thither:

The Sea thereabouts is also so fruitful in the production of Fish, that they come to the very Sands to die there, but these advantages on the other hand are encountered with the want of Water, whereof these Islands are entirely destitute.

The Wind towards Evening came to North North-East, and made us bear East and by South-East to keep to the Continent; the Weather on the Tenth in the Morning grew very dark, and we having a Southerly Blast, we bore East, and East and by South-East till the Eleventh, when we were becalmed: on the Thirteenth arose an East Wind, and we bore to the South South-East upon a tack, and North North-East, and then lay by for some time, because we did not know the Currents: On the 14th. having a North-East Wind, we bore East South-East, and accordingly as it blew fresh we steered East and by South-East, and East: on the Fifteenth Two Hours before Day-light we had a Storm and then a South Wind, we steered East all that Day, but we had such bad Weather the following Night, that we could not carry our Sails; next Day about Noon the Weather grew better, and an Easterly Breeze presented; we lay by till the Eighteenth at Noon, when we discovered a Ship to Windward of us, to whom we gave chase till the Evening; she proved to be the *English* Ship that had parted from us when we came out of the Bay of *Caldaira*, who knowing who we were, put into the Cape, we came to Leeward of her; but she spread out her Sails and got to Leeward of us; after we had given one another this salutation, we put out for Two Hours to see which sailed best, but knowing at last they were the better Sailors, and fearing they might reach *Queaquilla* before us, we desired them to join with us in our Design, to which when they agreed, we let sail together; we found our selves much perplexed to know what Latitude we might be in, since we had not seen the Sun for Ten Days together. But it happily fell out, that it appeared on the Nineteenth; our Pilots computed we might be about Five and twenty Leagues to Windward of *Queaquilla*, and Sixty Leagues from Land; but the Winds varied to that degree, that we could make no way, and many times went contrary.

On the 20th. we had a West Wind, and steered East and by South-East till the 21st. when we were becalmed.

On the 24th. arose a South Wind, and on the 26th. an Easterly Breeze : at last the Wind persisting to be contrary, we were reduced to great want of Victuals, for we had already been upon our passage longer than our Provision would allow us, to which we may add, that Fish had till now been so scarce, and hard to catch, that we had but little support from them : So that having on the 28th. taken an Account of the remainder of our Victualling, we were forced to retrench our selves so far as to eat but once in Forty eight Hours : we also wanted Water, and had it not been for the help of Rain, we had certainly died of thirst ; but what made us amends for one part of our wants, was that we found our selves all of a sudden in a Kingdom of large Fishes, such as Emperors, Tunnies, Germons, Galdenies, Negros, Bonitos, and several others, to whom we gave no quarter, no more that to the Sea Wolves, who for all their ill smell could not escape us. During that time we bore to the North-East, the Wind not allowing us to keep on our designed Course, that if the worst came to the worst, we might by this course reach the Isle of St. John, pursuant to the Design we had formed upon meeting with this contrary Wind, of putting in there, in case the same continued all the way : On the 29th. after we had taken the Latitude, our Pilots computed us to be opposite to the Isle of *Platta*, Thirty Leagues to Leeward of *Queaquilla* : on the 30th. being *Easter-Day*, we were but one degree North Latitude ; in the Twi light the Wind began to blow fresh, and bore us East North-East : next Day the Wind came South South-West, we steering East, East and by South-East, and East South-East : On the 3d. of *April* we were becalmed ; and as we had for the space of Two Days, by the computation of our Pilots, sailed towards Land ; they were of Opinion that the Currents deceived them, of which we made our selves satisfied by the following manner : On the Fourth the Weather being very calm we furled our Sails, and put out one of our Pirogues, about whose Fore-Cattle we spun Sixty Fathom of our smallest Rope, made fast unto a Grapling Iron, and from that Coast she made from, the Tide ran along her side with as much swiftness as the Current of a River, and bore to the North-East : on the Fifth we caulked our Ships ; towards Midnight a South-West Wind presented it self, and we bore South-East.

On the 6th. in the Morning we discovered Land both to Windward and Leeward of us, we veered to, least we should be brought too near, and steered South: On the 8th. we were about Four or Five Leagues off, and our coasting Pilots knew the Place to be Cape *Pastan*, which is under the Line Thirty Leagues to Leeward of the Isle of *Platta*; we had all hands aloft, and steered South: On the 9th. we bore to the South South-East till the Evening, and to the South-West till Ten at Night, when we steered to the South South-East: and on the 11th. we were got to the height of the Isle of *Platta*, Eighteen Leagues out at Sea.

An Account of  
the English  
Adventures.

On the 12th. at Noon we saw the Point of *Santa Helena*, which is Fifteen Leagues to Leeward of *Quaquilla*, and forms the beginning of the Bay that bears the Name of that Town: On the 12th. at Night we saw Fire to Windward of us; we lay by till break of Day, when we discovered a Ship Three Leagues to Windward of us, and as we were becalmed, we sent Three Pirogues to know what she was; they found her to be a Prize, laden with Wine and Corn, which Captain *David* had taken as she came out of *Nasca*, and which was separated from him; he had put Eight *English* Men on Board to Conduct her, who were to have their Rendezvous in case of a separation, at the Isle of *Platta*: These Men told us that after they had left *St John's* Island, they made several Descents, and in several Parts of that Country, among others at *Sagua*, *Arrica*, and *Pisca*, that in the last of these Places, a Relation of the Vice-Roy of *Lima*, came at the Head of Eight hundred Men to attack them with Sword in hand, but that they were vigorously repulsed, that they had also taken a great many Ships, which, when they pillaged, they let go again; so that finding they had got to the value of Five thousand pieces of Eight a Man, they had resolved to return to the North Sea, and that as they sailed away for the Streights of *Magellan* they fell to gaming, whereat many lost all they had got; that they had anchored in the Road which leads to the Isles of *Dom Fernandez*; that stand upon the brink of the Streight, to which Place came Captain *Willner*, an *English* Man, who had left them long before, and was come thither upon the same Design with themselves of repassing into the North Seas by the same Streights; but that Captain *David* had altered

altered his Resolution, for that those of his Crew who had lost their Money, were not willing to leave these Seas nor the Ship till they had taken another; That as for those who had won, they went on Board Captain *Willmet*, out of which Ship went also, at the same time, such of his Crew as were without Money, in order to go and get some with Captain *David*, and that so they were come back into the South Sea, to the number of Sixty *English*, and Twenty *French*, as *Willmet* was gone through the Streight, for the North Sea; that Captain *Peter Henry* was gone for the *East-Indies*, presently after Captain *Suams*; and lastly they told us (tho' we had been informed thereof before) that the *Spanish* Fleet was a careening at *Puerto Callao*, which, as I have already said, is the Place of Embarking, that belongs to *Lima*.

As these Eight *English* Men did not think that Captain *David's* Frigate would rejoyn them so quickly at the Place of Rendezvous, they proposed going with us to *Queaquilla*, which we so much the more willingly agreed to, in that they gave us a share of their Victuals and Drink, and a little revived amongst us, that usual meriment that had now for some time been exiled from us, by the abstinences we were forced to undergo, where-with we were extreemly weakned; Then we sailed all Night in their Company steering South-East and by East.

On the 14th. we furled all our Sails for fear of being discovered from Land, near unto which we were: About two arose a Fog, by favour whereof we made use of our main Sail of all, as well to come ready Rigged into the Bay, which is Thirty Leagues in length, as to get to Windward of the River *Queaquilla*, and to spare our selves also the Labour of rowing so much, for being so extraordinary weak we had not strength to do it.

We steered all Night South-East; And on the 15th. discovered the *White Cape*, which is the Windward Cape of this Bay; about Ten in the Morning, we embarked to the number of Two hundred and Sixty Men on Board our Canoes, after having given our Ships Orders to lay by in the Bay, till they heard News from us. We steered all Day long for the Island *Sancta Clara*, with which we came up at Sun setting; this little Island is in reality nothing else but a Rock, standing East and West, Six Leagues distant from the Continent; we were obliged

to cast Anchor with all the Tides contrary to us, it being impossible to put into this Bay against the Current, where we found Six Fathom Water: And on the 16th we found our selves between *Santha Clara* and *la Puna*, about Five Leagues from the Shoar.

A Description  
of the Isle  
of Puna.

*La Puna* is a very pretty Island, and may be discovered at a great distance at Sea, because of the Form of it, resembling a Cardinal's Cap; It's Twenty Leagues in circumference, and stands East and West, Two Leagues from the Continent, and over-against the Mouth of the River *Queaquilla*; There is a large Burrough built upon it, where, in former times, were kept the King of *Spain's* Magazines: Great Ships, that is, such as are Two or Three Deck'd ones, that cannot come into the River, Anchor between it and the Island: We hid our selves in this Island all Day, and that with the good Luck of not being discovered by the Sentinels, who were there to the number of Forty of them, though we knew nothing of it: We departed in the Evening, and got more Southerly, that we might not be discovered from the Continent.

On the 17th. we hid our selves again in a Covert Place upon the same Island; where after we had got an exact Account from our Prisoners of the State, Situation, and Disposition of the Town of *Queaquilla*, which we were about to go and take, we disposed of our Forces in the following Order: There were Fifty Men making the Forlorn Hope, led by Captain *Picard*, who command'd our Frigate, to attack the great Fort: Fourscore Grenadiers, commanded by the Captain of our Bark, were to be in the nature of Reserves, and to serve any where as there should be Occasion for them: Captain *Grognet* with the main Body, was to make himself Master of the Town and Port: And Captain *George Hewit*, who was Commander of the *English* Ship, with Fifty of his Men, was to attack the little Fort, and a Thousand Pieces of Eight was promised to any one of the English, whereof I was one, that should pitch the First Colours upon the great Fort: Things being thus regulated, we left our Covert in the Evening, believing we might be able to enter into the River of *Queaquilla* that Night, before Day light appear'd; but for all that, all we could do was to gain one of the Points of the Island, which is over-against the River, for we could have the advantage

advantage of the Tyde's coming in but for three Hours, which was the Reason, that on the 18th. as we put off again, that we might the more readily get under the Covert of the Island; Day overtook us, and so discovered us to a Sentinel, who set a Cottage on Fire as a Signal to the other Sentinels, that were posted at convenient distances on both sides the River, that he saw us, that these same might advertise the Town of it: As soon as we got a Shoar, we marched cross a Wood to get to the said Fire, where we found some of those that had kindled it; whereof Two were killed, as they fled to save themselves, and a Third was taken, but we could get no Intelligence from him, for he was but a little Boy.

This day we discovered a Ship entering into the River, we let her pass, being unwilling to come out from under our Covert to fall upon her, for fear of being discovered by those on the main Land, who we supposed knew nothing of us; Because the Inhabitants of *Queaquilla* had not answered the Fire-Signal which the Sentinel of *La Puna* had given them. Upon the approach of Night, we made ready, and entered into the River of *Queaquilla* by one of the two Mouths we found there, and by which goes in and out with the Tyde so rapid a Current, that it is enough to carry a Canoe two Leagues in an hour, so that we made four in the space of two hours.

There are two very fine Islands in the two largest parts of this River (which may be about half a League over) under the Covert whereof we hid our selves on the 19th. all day long. We made ready in the Evening, and had the pleasure to be carryed up by the Current without the use of our Oars, for fear lest the Sentinels, who are always placed on this River's sides, should hear the noise of our Rowing: The Design of our Guide was to pass by and Land beyond the Town, because he knew it was weaker, and worse guarded on that side than on the other; But his Project failed him, for the Tyde now going out, was as injurious to us, as before it had been favourable, and forced us to go ashore, two hours before Day, within Cannon-shot on this side the Town, from whence we discovered a great many Lights, which they usually keep in their Houses all Night long.

This



This Place where we landed is a Country full of Water and Shrubs, a-crofs which we were forced to cut our Way with our Sabres; but we did not know we were unhappily landed over-against a Sentinel, nor that an hour after that, one of our Men, who was left behind to look after our Canoes, struck fire to light a Pipe with, which he rashly did, contrary to the express Prohibition we had given him; which being perceived by that Sentinel, he made no doubt but there must be Enemies near: Because the *Spaniards*, upon pain of Death, forbid their People to strike fire in the Night in so much that he presently discharged a small Petard to give the Fort notice of it, who readily answered him the same with a whole discharge of their Cannon. Being overtaken at that instant of time with a Storm of Rain we were obliged to put in for shelter into a great House we found before us, to light the Granadiers Matches and wait till Day appeared, during which space the Enemy fired continually from the Town to frighten and let us understand they were ready to receive us.

They attack and take Queaquilla.

On the 20th. at break of Day we marched out in Order towards the Town, with our Drums beating and Colours flying; and upon our approach, found ourselves stopped by Seven Hundred Men, who attacked us from under the Covert of a Wall four Foot and a half high, and of a Ditch, wherewith the same was encompassed towards the River's side; which made us presently suppose it to be their Fort, having had a good Intelligence of the Situation of the Place. They did all they could to repulse us, and presently killed some of our Men. Being encouraged with this little Advantage, they had the boldness to Sally out upon us with Sword in Hand, but seeing we gave them a more vigorous Reception, they fled without any more ado and contented themselves with breaking down the Bridges, to hinder us from advancing; But this could not prevent our crossing the Ditch, and get to the foot of the Wall, whereof we rendred our selves Masters to the spight of all the Resistance made by them, who were not Proof against our Granadoes, that drove them to the very Houses, which are all of them built on purpose for Places of Defence, in case they be attacked and from whence in a short time we also drove them. They fled to the Place of Arms, and entrenched themselves

lives in a strong *Caze*, which we call a Redoubt, and which, when they had defended for an hour's time, they were also forced to abandon, in so much that we pursued them from Fort to Fort, till we came to a third, which is the greatest, and most considerable of them: Here they defended themselves a long time; for they fired continually upon us, by favour of the smোক of their Cannon, which hindered us from seeing them. When we were got to the foot of the Pallisadoes, they sallied out again with Sword in Hand, and having wounded some of our Men, they took one of them Prisoner, but quickly made them leave him, and to run back into their Fort, after they had lost a great many Men. At being weary with about Eleven hours Fight, and our Powder being now almost spent, we redoubled our efforts in such a manner, that we broke in upon them, and made our selves Masters of this last Fort, but not without loss on our side, since we had Nine Men killed, and a Dozen wounded. We sent out several Parties at the same time to pursue those that fled, who were still in sight of us, while the other *Roman Catholicks* went singing *Te Deum* in the great Church, after we had first sent a Garrison into the Fort..

The Town of *Queaquilla* is almost built round about a little Mountain, whereon stand those three Forts, two of which are commanded by the third, which is the greatest, and all of them Command the Town. The weakest, which is that against which we had most to do, is no where strong but to the River-ward, and the two lesser ones are upon the Descent of an Hill, which looks towards the River, and are each of them surrounded with a thin but very high Wall on the outside; we found none but Petereroes to defend it: There is a Communication between these last two and the other by a Covert-way, on each side whereof are two rows of Pallisadoes filled with Earth, and defended also with Petereroes. In the great Fort, which is also beset with Pallisadoes, we found Seven Pieces of Cannon, carrying from twelve to eighteen Pound Ball; but they could not, because of the Elevation of the Place, bring their Guns so low enough to incommode those that were in the Town, unless by thundering against the Houses, they should be buried in the Ruins of them. The Magazines of Powder stand in the middle of the Fort, and are

*A Description of Queaquilla.*

are slightly enough built. The Town, as I have served, is to the River-ward encompassed with a four Foot and an half high, and three Foot thick: Streets are very strait: The Parish Churches, as well the Convents, are very curiously built; the Houses almost all built with Boards, and founded upon Piles for that in the rainy time of the Year, which continues from the beginning of *JANUARY* to the end of *APRIL* they are so incommoded, as to be forced to make Bridges, and raise Banks of Earth in all the Streets, to keep off the Water and Mud. Their chief Commodity is Cocoe, of which they make Chocolate. We had Seven Hundred Prisoners of both Sexes in this Place, and among the rest was the Governour and his Family. He was wounded, as were several Officers and Men of Quality, who fought more bravely than Five thousand other Men that defended the Place.

*They got a  
vast Booty in  
Queaquilla.*

We found in the Place several sorts of Merchandise, a great many Pearls and precious Stones, a prodigious quantity of Silver Plate, and seventy thousand Pieces of Eight at least; tho' there were Three Millions among them when we came thither: But as we were all taken up to make our selves Masters of the Forts; we laid hold of that opportunity to make their escape along the River, with the greatest part of their most valuable Moveables: When our Canoes were come to anchor under the Town, we were not backward to send Four of them away in pursuit of the Shallops that carried the said Riches of the Town away, but then it was too late: They only took Two and twenty Thousand Pieces of Eight, and a Vermillion Eagle gilt, that was served for a Tabernacle to some Church, weighing Sixty eight Pounds, and was exceeding Rare, as well for the Workmanship, as Two great Rocks of Emeralds, when with the Eyes of it were made: There were Fourteen Barks in the Port, with the Galleys, against whom we fought at *Pueblo Nuevo*, and Two of the King of Spain's Ships upon the Stocks, almost finished. We agreed with the Governour in the Evening about the Price of his, his Families, the Town, Fort, Cannon, and Ship. His Ransoms, they being to give us a Million of Pieces of Eight in Gold, and Four hundred Sacks of Corn; and in order to forward the payment of the said Ransom, which was to be brought from the Town of *Quaquilla*.

Eight

ty Leagues off, he desired us to release their Vicar general, who was a Man of great Authority and Credit amongst them.

We found this Governour's House so richly furnish'd, and filled with such precious Moveables, that nothing in Europe could be more Magnificent: The Women of this Town are very Pretty; but most of the *Fathers* or *Monks* live here at great Ease, and in such Familiarity with the Fair Sex, that is far from being a good Pattern and Example unto others: The *Fathers* hated us to that degree, that they perswaded the Women, who had never seen any Freebooters, we were altogether unlike them, that we were not even of human Form, and that we could both eat them and their Children, which made them conceive so much Horror and Aversion for us, that they could not be dispossest thereof, till they came to know us better. But then I can boldly say, they entertained quite different Sentiments of our Persons, and have given frequent instances of so violent a Passion, as proceeded sometimes even to a degree of Folly.

It's not from a chance Story, that I came to know the Impressions wrought in these Women that we were Men that would eat them; For the next Day after the taking of the Town, a Young Gentlewoman that waited upon the Governess of the Place happening to fall into my hands, as I was carrying her away to the Place where the rest of the Prisoners were kept, and to that end made her walk before me, she turned back, and with Tears in her eyes told me in her own Language, *Senior por l amor de Dios no mi como*; that is, *Pray, Sir, for the Love of God don't eat me*; whereupon I asked who had told her that we were wont to eat People, she answered the *Fathers*, who had also assured them, that we had not human shape, but that we resembled Monkeys.

On the 21<sup>st</sup>. some of our Men who had made a Fire in the Day time, in one of the Houses of the Town, came to the Court of Guard in the Evening without extinguishing of it; so that at Night it set the Town on Fire; but the fear we were in least the same should reach our Court of Guard, whereon was lodged all the Powder in the Place, and part of the Merchandize and Riches of the Town, we were obliged to get all carried on Board the Barks that were in the Port, and to bring our Prisoners into the Fort; and when that was done,

we

An odd  
Story of a  
Spanish  
Woman.

Quea-  
quilla  
fired by  
accident.

we endeavoured to put a stop to the Fire, which burnt down one third of the Town, notwithstanding all the pains we took to put it out.

We returned on the 22d. in the Morning to our Count of Guard, and fearing least the *Spaniards* might refuse to pay the Ransom agreed on for the Town, because of this Accident, we having promised by our Treaty with them not to burn it; we took upon us to believe they were the cause of it, and sent them a Letter, wherein we gave them to understand, we were much surprized at their manner of procedure; That they should alter our Agreement with them, come with a mischievous Intention to burn the Merchandize and Corn that was of so much use to us, and that we repented we had not left all the Town to be burnt: That if they did not pay us what we had suffered by the Fire, we should send them Fifty of the Prisoners Heads: They thereupon excused the Matter to us, saying they must be some naturally spiteful People that had done this, and they would take care to satisfy us.

On the 23d. the Governour furnished us with a coasting Pilot, whom we sent in one of our Canoes to see for our Ships, (to whom we had given Orders they should lay by in the Bay) to bring them to an Anchor at the Isle of *Puna*, whither we were to go at our departure from *Queaquilla*, to wait, for the promised Ransom. On the 24th. finding one of our Men was Sick with the Stench which the dead Carcasses, to the number of above nine hundred, lying up and down the Town, occasioned: We went our ways after we had first dismounted and nailed up the Cannon in the Fort, and carried Five hundred Prisoners, being the best of the Inhabitants, along with us, into our Barks; wherein we arrived with them on the 25th. at *Puna*, where we found our Ships ready to cast Anchor.

The death  
of Cap-  
tain  
Grog-  
niet.

On the 2d. of *May*, Captain *Grognet* died of the Wound he had received that Day we took the Town, when the Seven hundred *Spaniards* opposed our entering the Fort, and the same Day died Four of our Men also. On the 4th. we sent our Galley to the Isle of *Platta*, to see if Captain *David's* Frigate was come to Rendezvous there.

The time allowed for the payment of the Ransom of *Queaquilla*, being expired on the Ninth, we granted them

them Four Days longer; but then we began to be weary of this delay, when a *Spanish Bark* that was wont to carry us Provision, brought an Officer in her, who desired us not to be impatient, for the Ransom would be quickly paid: Now this Dilatoriness made us begin to suspect very much that there was some treachery in the Case, and that they entertained us with hopes for no other end than to amuse us, till such time as the Enemy were reinforced. And our guess was right enough, as will appear hereafter; insomuch that we were constrained to use such severity towards our Prisoners, which we knew would strike a Terror into our Enemies. We made them through Dice for their Lives, and the Lot falling upon the Heads of Four, we cut them off presently, and sent them to *Queaquilla* in the same Vessel that had brought the said Officer unto us, by whom we let the Tenient understand, that if the Ransom did not come within four Days, we would send them the Heads of all the rest of the People that were in our Power.

Our Galley on the 14th. returned from the Isle of *Platta*, and related that she had been chased about the Point of *Sancta Helena* by Two Ships, which she could not discover what they were, and this made us that Evening send out one of our Canoes that sailed well to see what those Ships might be: On the 16th. she found they came to joyn us, they being Captain *David's* Frigate and a Prize he had taken after the other had been separated from them, which we met before we went to *Queaquilla*; they came with full Resolution to make a Descent at *Paiza*, in order to get some Refreshments for their Men, who had been wounded in a Fight they had had with a *Spanish Ship* called *Catalina*, which they met Fifty Leagues to Leeward of *Lima*, and was one of those that we had for so long a time waited for before that Town.

This Ship *Catalina* was separated from Two more with whom she was returning to the Port of *Callao*, when unfortunately for her she met with Captain *David's* Frigate, that failed much better than she, and could have taken her, without making as he did Two Days Fight of it, had it not been that the greatest part of his Crew being continually Drunk, failed Twenty times to come up close to board her, and suffered themselves to fall to Leeward because of their ill rigging, as often as they found

The Spaniards treacherous.

Captain David worsts the Spaniards at Sea.

found themselves to Windward of her; which being observed by the *Spaniards*, they thought by putting up a bloody Flag, they would be quickly brought to strike, but then in they were mistaken, and the quite contrary fell out. For *David's* People growing sober on the Third Day and putting their Tackle and Rigging into better order than before, the *Spaniards* were so terrified thereat, that they ran a Shoar where their Ship did not keep whole Two Hours: *David's* Men in a Canoe went to save Two *Spaniards* who were about swimming to Land, and now having escaped the danger of Drowning, told them that their Captain having had his Thigh shot off with a Cannon Ball, had desired his Lieutenant before his Death to lose no time, but to go without tarrying, to acquaint the Viceroy of *Lima*, of the dangerous Estate the Frigate was reduced to, that he might send without delay to her assistance.

Our Canoe which on the 22d. came to rejoyne us, and gave the foresaid Information, brought also along with her Captain *David's* Prize, which he had sent to desire us to get a Main Mast to be brought him from *Queaquilla*, as somewhat of our Ransom, his having been very much damnified in the last Engagement; And that till it came, he would Cruise without the Bay to prevent our being surprized by the *Spaniards*.

I forgot to take notice that this Ship's Crew had at *Paiza*, surprized a Courier that was going from *Queaquilla* to *Lima* the third time, to carry the following Letter unto the Viceroy, which clearly made out unto the suspicions we had entertained before, that the *Spaniards* deferred to pay us the promised Ransom, that they might have time to prepare themselves to come and pay us in a sort of Coyn we had no Occasion for, and which we did not require at their hands.

*A Letter of the Tenient of Queaquilla, to the Viceroy of Lima.*

The Tenient of  
Queaquilla's  
Letter to  
the Viceroy of  
Lima.

S I R,

I Am to inform your Excellency, the second time, that the *English* and *French* are still at *Puna*; It's several Days since the term they had allowed us for the Redemption of our Prisoners is expired; I have done it on purpose that your Excellency might gain time. They



They have sent me four of our Peoples Heads: I will  
 amuse them with some thousands of Peices of Eight  
 from time to time, (though they have no Reason to  
 be weary) while your Excellency may please to come,  
 and though they should yet send me fifty Heads  
 more, I shall esteem that loss to be much less Preju-  
 dicial to us, than to suffer such evil-disposed People  
 to live. Now, Sir, we have a brave opportunity to  
 get rid of them, provided your Excellency lose no time  
 to do it.

We could not have received a more certain Testimo-  
 ny of the Thoughts and Designs of our Enemies, than  
 was discovered by this Letter unto us, so we took our  
 measures accordingly.

# C H A P. V.

*The remaining Actions of the Freebooters in  
 the South Seas, during 1687.*

THE best Winter Quarters which we had met with  
 in these Seas, and that of longest duration, was  
 at the time of our sojourning upon this Island of  
 Puna, where for the space of Thirty odd Days that  
 we staid here, we lived mighty well; for besides the  
 Equals which the Spaniards brought us dayly from  
 Maquilla, we had brought thither our selves a great  
 many Refreshments, neither did we want Charms for  
 our Ears in this Place, for we had all the Musick of the  
 own among our Prisoners, which consisted of Lutes,  
 Harps, Gittars, Harps, and other Instruments, I ne-  
 ver saw any where else, wherewith they made a very fine  
 concert.

Some of our Men grew very familiar with our Wo-  
 men Prisoners, who without offering them any violence  
 were not sparing of their Favours, and made appear,  
 as I have already remarked, that after they came once  
 to know us, they did not retain all the Aversion for us,  
 that had been inculcated into them, when we were  
 strangers unto them: All our People were so charmed  
 with

la Puna  
 their best,  
 Winter  
 Quar-  
 ters.

An Adventure  
of the Author's,  
with a  
Spanish  
Woman.

with this way of living; that they forgot their past series, and thought of no more Danger from the Spaniards than if they had been in the middle of Paris.

Amongst the rest, my self had one pretty Adventure; among the other Prisoners we had a Young Gentleman lately become a Widow of the Treasures of a Town, who was slain when it was taken: Now a Woman appear'd so far comforted for her loss, and an hardheartedness they have in this Country on another, that she propos'd to hide me and her self in some corner of the Island till our People were gone, and that then she would bring me to *Quenquilla* to marry her; That she would procure me her Husband's Office and vest me in his Estate, which was very great: When I had returned her Thanks for such obliging offers, she gave her to understand that I was afraid her Intention had not the mastery over the Spaniards Resentment, and that the Wounds they had received from us, were yet too fresh and green for them easily to forget them. She went about to cure me of my Suspicion, by promising secretly from the Governour and chief Officers, promises under their Hands, how kindly I should be treated by them. I confess I was not a little perplext herewith, and such pressing Testimonies of Good-will and Friendship towards me, brought me, after a little Consultation with my self, into such a Quandary, that I did not know which side to close with; nay, I found myself at length much inclined to close with the Offers made me: And I had two powerful Reasons to induce me therunto, one of which was the miserable and beguishing Life we lead in those Places, where we were in perpetual Hazzard to lose it, which I should be free from by an advantageous Offer of a pretty Woman and a considerable Settlement; the other proceeded from the despair I was in of ever being able to return into my own Country, for want of Ships fit for that purpose. But when I began to reflect upon these things with a little more leisure and consideration, and that I revolved with my self, how little Trust was to be given to the Promises and Faith of so perfidious, as well as destructive a Nation as the Spaniards, and more especially towards Men in our Circumstances, by whom they had been so ill used; this Second Reflection carried it against the First, and even all the Advantages offered me.

the Lady: But however the matter was, I was resolved, in spite of the Grief and Tears of this pretty Woman, to prefer the continuance of my Troubles (with that Ray of hope I had of seeing *France* again) before the perpetual Suspicion I should have had of some Treachery designed against me. Thus I rejected her Proposition, but so, as to assure her I should retain, even as long as I lived, a lively Resentment of her Affections and good Inclinations towards me.

On the 23<sup>d</sup>. we sent one of our Canoes to *Queaquilla* to carry one of the *Fathers* thither, they being a People much obeyed and respected by that Nation, as the *Orator* says themselves. The Governour gave this Man a full Power to act as he pleased, even in opposition to the Obstructions which the Tenient made against the Payment of the Ransom afore-mentioned. After his departure came a Bark which brought us Four and Twenty Sacks of Meal, and to the value of Twenty Thousand Pieces of Eight in Gold: They desired us moreover, to grant them three days time for the Payment of the rest, which we allowed them, but withal threatened, that upon their failure therein, we should lie upon their Fort, and burn their Town and Ships.

Our Canoe returned on the 25<sup>th</sup>. who gave us an Account they would pay no more than Two and Twenty Thousand Pieces of Eight for the rest of the Ransom, and that the Tenient would pursue his Prince's Orders, who forbade the payment of any; That he had Five Thousand Men at hand, with which he waited to see if we would put our Threats in Execution. Upon this bold Answer, we had a Consultation together, whether we should cut off the Heads of all the Prisoners: The Plurality of Voices, together with mine, was, That it were better we should go and look after the Two and Twenty Thousand Pieces of Eight, than shed any more Blood; seeing also that our Design being to leave these Seas, we had no farther occasion for these Executions to make us be feared; and that after all, we were but too well assured by the Tenient's Letter, that the *Spaniards* were setting all things in Order, to come and act their utmost Effort against us, which perhaps would administer matter of Repentance unto us, if we persisted in our Resolution: That therefore we ought to accept of the Offer, and to give up unto them

no other than the meanest of the Prisoners, without divesting our selves of those of Quality, who would be a Security unto us for the rest: That while we waited for them, it was our best way to take them along with us, and put off from the Shoar, steering towards the Point of *St. Helena*, where we should be out of danger of the surprizes of our Enemies, whose Motions we could every way discover at a distance. Things being thus concluded on, we sent our Canoe to *Queaquilla*, who returned again the 25<sup>th</sup>. and told us, that next day, the *Spaniards* would without fail bring us the Two and Twenty Thousand Pieces of Eight to the Isle of *Pana*, where we then were.

We put the same day Fifty of our best Prisoners on board our Ships, and at the same time weighed Anchor, and quitted our good Winter Quarters, where we left the rest of our Prisoners, with two Canoes to Guard them, and to wait for the Money promised us; giving our Men Orders to tell those that brought it, that they should send us the remainder of what was agreed on, to the Point of *St. Helena*, and upon default thereof, that they should see their People no more. Our Canoe on the 26<sup>th</sup>. in the Evening came to joyn us, as we lay by to get out of this Bay, and brought us the Two and Twenty Thousand Pieces of Eight.

*They joyn  
the Eng-  
lish, and  
fight the  
Spanish  
Arma-  
dilla's.*

Next Night the *English* Frigate's Prize, who thought we lay still at Anchor at *la Pruna* (from whence he met us about Eight Leagues) came to give us notice, that two *Spanish Armadilla's* waited our coming out of the Bay, and that *David's* Frigate lay by, as they did to stay for us: On the 27<sup>th</sup>. by break of Day we discovered them between the Isle of *St. Clare* and the Point of *St. Helena*, to Windward of us. Captain *David's* Frigate, upon sight of us, made up presently to us, and having got all together, we consulted what we were best to do: We put Four-score of our Men on board of him, because he had not number enough of his own to manage his Guns; and as we had not Men enough to manage our Prizes, we reserved only but two Ships, and a long Bark, and sent the rest with our Pirogues upon the Flats, where the *Spanish* Ships could not come, as drawing more Water than they did. We lay by all Noon, to get the Weather-gage, which yet we could not do, because at this time of the Year the Winds blow from

from the Sea, and are very fixed, and that besides, as we came out of the bottom of the Bay we could not well hope to gain it, the *Spaniards* being at the Mouth thereof.

About Noon our Enemies came upon us, and so we fought till the Evening with our Cannon, which the *Spaniards* call Gallant Fighting, without much hurting one another: We cast Anchor upon the approach of Night, as they did also about a League to Windward of us. We fired a Gun for our Prizes to come up, which they did, and cast Anchor near us, for their greater Security.

We sent them back about an hour before Day-light to their former Station, and as soon as ever Light appeared, we made ready, and the *Spaniards* did the same, but no sooner were we got under Sail, but we were becalmed: Unhappily it fell out that we were without our Pirogues to tow us to Windward, because we had sent them back with our Prizes, to avoid the trouble they might have caused us, and therefore all we could do now, was to make use of our little Canoes, which we had still with us; the *Spaniards* also towed to Windward, to dispute the matter with us, however, with much ado we got a Cannon-shot to Windward of them; but as they knew better how to bear close up to the Wind in these Seas than we, in half an hour's time they overpowered the Weather-gage of us. We lay by till Two in the Afternoon, and seeing we could do no good with them, we put in to the Cape, to wait for two of our Ships, that were behind. In the mean time these *Armadas* bore up to us, and when they had got within a good Cannon-shot, we fought till it was dark Night, they very much shattered us, yet wounded but one Man; we anchored in the Evening as we had done the day before, and they did the same also to Windward of us.

We remained at Anchor on the 29<sup>th</sup>. as well as they, till Three in the Afternoon, when they weighed to go and attack the biggest of our Prizes, because she had anchored only on the side of the Shallows, and we made ready to defend her: We came to such a close Fight with them, that our Small Arms, as well as Great Guns, came into play on both sides; yet we lost not one Man, but they on their side had a great many killed, which

we knew by the Blood that ran out of their Skupper-holes, and at our parting they cryed, *A la mañana la partida*; that is, *To Morrow to it again*.

On the 30th, both they and we prepared to put out of the Bay, and the *Spaniards*, who were still to Windward, did all they could to hinder us to get the Weather-gage. We came to an Anchor towards Noon, to disarm one of our Prizes, that sailed very badly, and to fit up another in the room of her, which Captain *David* gave us, as well as the Twenty *Frenchmen* that made part of his Crew, and were minded to leave him. We wrought all Night to unrigg her, and when we had so done, we sent her into the Bottom. We put our selves under Sail on the 31st. and about Two in the Afternoon came to an Anchor, because of the Tyde's being against us: Presently after, the two *Armadilla's* came up with us, which made us weigh, and then to put in at the Cape, to wait for one of our Prizes, that was far from us, which not being able to joyn us as soon as the Enemy, her Crew left her, and went into her Pirogue, wherein they came to throw themselves on board one of our Men of War: They had left four *Spaniards* in that same Prize, who, by the favour of a good Wind, put back into the River of *Queaquilla*, where they made their Escape, and, what was worst of all, took along with them almost all our Provisions that was in her.

When we were got within half Cannon-shot of our Enemies Ships, we fired upon one another, and that without intermission, till an hour within Night: We received several Cannon-shot in our Sides, during this Engagement, had almost all our Tackle spoiled, and our Sails sifted, because the *Spaniards* did all that ever they could to bring our Masts by the board, and indeed the Fore-Mast of the Frigate received five Cannon-shot, and the Main-Mast three, but they came only slanting, and, as good luck would have it, we had not one Man killed nor wounded.

We saw the Enemy on the first of June by break of Day, a League's distance from us; we were not slow to do all we could to put out: About Ten they lengthen'd their Bolt-spring-Sails, and returned upon us, but as we saw them bear up towards our Frigate, we thought they intended to board her, and this made us presently put into her the Crew of our long Bark, by

way

way of Reinforcement. As soon as ever the *Spaniards* were come up, they put out their *Burgundian* Colours, having till then put out none: When we were come pretty near, they gave us a Volley of Musquet-shot, together with a discharge of their Cannon, laden with Cartouches, but we got clear of them, so that they could not come to grapple with us.

After we had left them to make all the Fire they could, we gave them a Discharge of all our Cannon, and a full Volley with our small Arms in our turn, and then we were ready to board them; but they finding themselves much damaged, very readily got aloof to hinder us.

They took up an hour's time to refit, then bore up to us again, renewing the Fight, which lasted till Night; but they had been so well banged; that they had no mind to feel us this time so near, and that day we had three Men wounded.

On the second by break of Day they were still to Windward of us at about two Leagues distance, and bore up to us; We having a fresh Gale, put into the Cape, and when they were come within a good Cannon-shot of us, they plyed us very tightly with their Great Guns, and then approached within Musquet-shot of us, as believing we were now out of Condition to make any longer Resistance: But as we had a better Advantage of using our Fusils, we made so great a fire upon them, that they were forced to close up their Port-holes, and bear up to the Wind. We received Sixty Cannon shot this day in our Sides, whereof two Thirds were between Wind and Water; besides which, all our Rigging was torn, and we had two Men wounded, whereof my self was one.

About two hours within Night they made a shew of coming to board us, but finding we were as well prepared to receive them by Night as by Day, they bore upon the Wind: We spent some part of this Night at Anchor to stop up our Cannons Mouths, which otherwise might have sent us into the Deep.

We were astonished next Morning at break of Day that we could not set sight of the two *Armadilla's*, with whom we had made our selves ready to renew the Fight, and in all appearance they grew weary of it before us, tho' they had so great an Advantage as that of the



Wind, which yet, as we heard since, could not secure them from losing a great many Men; and having their Ships at least as much shattered as ours: So that supposing well with our selves that they had steered their Course to Port *Callas*, we steered ours for the Isle of *Platta*, where we anchored in the Evening, and continued there two Days to caulker our Ships.

We had, during these several Engagements, brought up upon our Decks, the Governour of *Queaquilla*, and the other chief Officers that were our Prisoners; that they might be Witnesses of the Vigour with which our Men fought, and the Cowardize of their own People, who durst not enter our Ships, tho' they came Board and Board with us twice.

We weighed on the sixth, and sailed along the Coast, that we might find a convenient Place to take in Water. This Coast is very level, safe, and very good to Land upon, which is the reason that the same is throughout, as far as *Barbacoa*, inhabited by the Spaniards: We Anchored between Cape *Pastoa* and that of *St. Francisco*. On the Tenth, we put our Prisoners ashore, and gave them their Liberty, being not able to go to the Point *St. Helena*, to see whether their Ransom was come, which I suppose would have been to little purpose, for those two *Armadilla's* had been sent to pay us with Cannon-Ball.

They  
divided  
their Booty.

On the 11th, we went about dividing the Gold, precious Stones and Pearls we had found in *Queaquilla*; but as these things could not be divided, nor easily valued, the Gold not being Coyned, and the Stones of different value, we put up all by way of Auction, that those who had Silver might bid for them, and so every Man have his part according as he bad; and as there were several among us who having got considerable sums of Money at Play, were sure, that if it pleased God they should once get safe out of these Seas; their way must be no other than over Land, where the weight of their Silver must hinder or retard their going; they bid for those Jewels that kept but little Room, and weighed not much, so excessive a Price, that the Gold alone that was Coyned was worth Eighty and an hundred Pieces of Eight an Ounce, and each Pistol Fifteen of the said Pieces: But though these things were sold so dear, we made no more a Division of the Booty of that Town than what came to Four hundred Pieces of Eight a Man,

the

the whole might amount to about Five hundred thousand Pieces of Eight, or Fifteen hundred thousand Livres; which Money, as we were out of hopes to carry along with us, served us to play for on Board our Ships for our Diversion: So that in the Descents we made, we sought now for nothing but Gold and precious Stones, which we did not find so plentiful as Silver; of which, I must be plain, we made so little account, that we thought it not worth our while to take along with us a great quantity of Plate and other things, whereof the Town of *Quaquilla* was full: We also neglected to send a Canoe after the hundred Caons of Coynded Silver, each consisting of Eleven thousand Pieces of Eight, which the *Spaniards* had sent away to the other side of the River, when we were engaged with them, and which were yet in sight of us when the Fight was over. There is such a vast quantity of that rich Metall in this Country, that most of those things we make in *France* out of Steel, Copper, and Iron, are made by them in Silver: This indifference in us gave some of their People many times occasion to intermix with us, to Pillage from their own fellow Citizens what we neglected, and of which they were not so squeamish as we, or rather so put to it for the Carriage of them, they being in their own Country, and we far from ours.

On the 12th. Captain *David's* Frigate left us, he designing to go and Caren at the Isles of *Galapas*, and then to sail away for the Streight of *Magellan*; in order to return for the North Sea; But as for us, our Vessels were so small, and withal so bad, that it was impossible we should get up higher than the Coast of *Peru*; neither could they also, contain such a quantity of Water as we had occasion for, which is very hard to come by on that Coast, where you must go two or three leagues up the Country before you can meet with any. These Difficulties made us resolve to return to the Western Coast, that so we might endeavour to find out a way also to return to the North Sea; but that must be no other than over Land.

Before I leave this Coast, I cannot but take Notice, that *Peru* is one of the richest Countries in the World, not only in respect to the great quantity of Gold and Silver which the *Spaniards* dig out of the Mines they possess there, but also upon account of the great Fertility of

Captain  
David  
sails for  
the North  
Sea.

An A-  
count of  
Peru.

of the Earth, that produceth to the Tillers of it three Crops every Year, as well of Corn as Wine; and that besides those Fruits that are peculiar to all *America*, you have also many of those here which grow in *France*, so much that this great Diversity of Species's is the occasion that you have continual Supplies of fresh Fruits in all the Seasons of the Year.

The Inhabitants of this Country reckon but two Seasons, which divide the whole Year into a Summer of Nine Months, and a Winter of three, during which, it freezes oftentimes very hard on the Mountains, though the same is hardly discernable in the Plains: Amongst their other Cattle they breed Sheep, that weigh two hundred and fifty, or three hundred Pound-weight: These Animals are of great use to them, having the very same Instinct as Camels. They make them carry Jars of Water, Oyl, or Wine, which are a sort of Earthen-ware made like Sugar-pans, two of which holds about five and thirty Quarts, and when empty, weigh as much as the Liquor that fills them: When they are minded to fill them, these Sheep will kneel down, and as soon as they are full, get up very gently; when they are come to the place whither they are to carry them, they lay them down in the same manner, and so continue till they are discharged of their Burthen.

We weigh'd on the 13th. and on the 15th. Anchored twenty Leagues to Windward of *Point Mangla*, we put ashore in a Canoe, where we surprized a Watch of fifteen *Spanish* Soldiers, who were set upon the side of a curious River; the Entertainment we gave them, forced them to own unto us that they were to guard the River, which they called *Elmeralda*, because of the many Rocks, or great pieces of Emeralds which their Country-men take up there, and that we might in the space of Eight Hours go very easily from the Mouth of it in our Canoes, to surprize the Town of *Quitto*, but not so by Land, because then we must fetch a Compass of Four-score Leagues through a Country full of Inhabitants, who would not fail to oppose us; and for these Reasons it was that they endeavoured all they could to keep from Strangers the Knowledge of these Advantages: This Town of *Quitto* is well Peopled, and was formerly the Capital of the Kingdom that bears its Name, but now it depends upon the Government of the *Vice-Roy* of

*Lima*.

On the 17th. we got ready and sailed away for the *del Gallo*, which stands at the Mouth of the little Bay of *Barbacon*, an hundred Leagues to Leeward of *Maquilla*. On the 19th. we discovered by break of Day, a Ship, whom we chased, and towards Ten in the Evening took her; she was a Bark come from *Panama* to go and buy *Negroes*, which the *English* in *Jamaica* sent them by the way of *Puerto Bello*, and which they were going to Trade with at *Paitas*; they get very considerably by these *Blacks*, for the *English* sell them to the *Spaniards* for four and five hundred Pieces of Eight, and are worth three and four hundred with them. We Anchor'd on the 20th. at the Isle of *Gallapo*, where we examined the Prisoners we had taken in the said Bark, who told us, that the Galley of *Panama* was gone into the Bay of *Mapallo* in quest of the *French* Men that were gone ashore upon these Islands, which I have already said, are there, and that in her return she was to carry the President of *Guatimala* and his Wife to *Panama*.

On the 25th. we weigh'd and sailed for the Isle of *Cocas*, which stands North and South of *Realeguo*, an hundred Leagues distance: We had a South-west Wind, and sailed West, North-west: On the 30th. we discovered Land, we pinch'd upon the Wind, that we might know what place it was; we found towards Evening, was the Isle of *Malpalla* that stands forty Leagues Southwards of that of *St. John's*, and from thence we sailed to the Bay of *Mapalla* instead of going to the Isle of *Cocas*, from whence the Wind blew, and consequently was contrary to us.

From this day forward to the 11th. of *July* we had the same South-west Wind, which allay'd not but when it blew from the East and South: On the 13th. we took our Latitude, and found we were thirty Leagues out at Sea from *Realeguo*, and steared North to get to Land: On the 16th. at Noon we discovered the Mountains, and put into the Cape for fear of being discovered: On the 17th. we sent two of our Canoes to endeavour to take some one Prisoner, that so we might know how things were before we brought our Ships into the Bay.

In the Evening our Canoes having discovered what Coast it was, returned, and told it was *St. Michael's Bay*, whether the Currents had driven us in making the Cape, and which we took for that of *Mapalla*, whither we would

would have gone, and which stands fourteen Leagues Windward of the former, which might the more easily have been mistaken from the Sea, in that the Mountains of these two Bay are very like one another. We lay to Windward of it in the Night, and on the 18th. put out our Canoes, and continuing at the Cape till the 21st. we made use of them to go and joyn our Friends at some of the Islands: As we entered in on the 23d. we were taken with a breeze of Wind that separated us from another, and of five Sail, whereof our Fleet consisted: we had no more than two of the least and weakest of our Ships left together, but we did not lose sight of the other three, tho' they were got very far to Leeward, and overtaken with a Calm. In the mean time we Anchored at the Isle of *Tigers*, which is the nearest to the Mouth of it.

On the 24th. about Eight in the Morning we discovered three Sail of Ships that doubled the Point of *Harbour*, which is to Windward of that Bay, and Ten Leagues to Leeward of *Realeguo*; we presently fired a Patent to call in our Canoes who were ashore to take in Water. As soon as they were come on Board, we made ready and bore up to those Ships with a full Wind, though we had then but very little of it.

*The Free-  
booter's  
Fight  
with some  
Spanish  
Vessels.*

Those three Vessels, which were a Galley and two Pirogues, bore also towards us, though they saw us not; but as soon as we were got out and discovered by them, they doubled the Cape upon us with their Sails and Oars, and the two Pirogues that sailed better than the Galley, got behind us, and fired fifteen Cannon-shot upon us; but as our Arms could reach them, these Pirogues were forced to fall a Stern, and to wait for their Galley: When she had joyned them, they held a Council, and then put out to Attack us, our Ships not being able to give us any Relief, put to the Cape to wait for us; we fought them all along till we had rejoined our Vessels, which we did about two in the Afternoon, when the *Spaniards* left us to go bury their Dead upon the Island where we had been to take in Water when we first discovered them; they did us some Damage in our main Mast and Rigging, and wounded few of our Men: Towards Evening a Wind arose from the Sea, and we sailed in quest of them, but they kept to the Shoar.

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On the 25th. we passed round the Island in search for Canoes, which the Enemy's Galley sought for also, only imagining they were ashore, as not having seen them with us during the Action: About two in the Afternoon they discovered us, and coming out from under the Covert, gave us the Signal, which we on our part understood: they had hid themselves there for four Hours, expecting our coming, and had a full sight of the Engagement, but could not possibly any more than the rest of our Ships, come in to our Assistance. The Spaniards, who saw us take them with us, durst not hinder it, though they were at Anchor very near them, then we attempted with one of our Ships to Board the Enemy's Galley, but she saved her self upon the Flats, where our Ships could not come near her. On the 26th. we Anchored at an Island in the Bay, where we put two of our Vessels to Careen, while the other three guarded them. On the 28th. we saw a Canoe under white Colours, passing from the main Land to the Islands, where one of ours met and took her: It was a *Spanish* Captain, who believing us to be his own People, came to congratulate the Commander upon the Victory, which he from the near thought they had got over us. We put him upon the Wrack, to know whether he came not by some wile rather to draw us into a Snare laid for us by the Galley, as the *Greek* Captain had formerly done; But he solemnly protested it was not so, and informed us, that there was a Pirogue with thirty Men in the same Bay where we were, who were gone ashore some time since, and had fought in the *rale* of *Savannas* against six hundred *Spaniards*, whose Captain, called *don Albarado*, who was accounted the bravest and most valiant Man in the Province, they had killed, and that when we had met with their Galley and two Pirogues, there had Eight hundred Armed Men come, not with a design to look after us, but to fight those thirty *French* Men, who could not be conquered by his six hundred Country-men; an admirable instance of the Valour of the *Spaniards* in those parts.

The Bay of *Mapallais* is a very curious place, and full of divers great Islands, not inferiour in Beauty to those of *Panama*; they were formerly Inhabited, and there are still three Burroughs there which the People have forsaken, by reason of the Descents of the Free-booters: la.

As

As for Anchorage, it's very good here, but no good shelter to be found in this place from any corner of the Wind, great Blasts whereof come over those great Mountains that are at the bottom of it, so that there are very few Cables that are proof against them.

Other Adventures.

On the 6th. of *August*, one of our Men, who was Hunting upon the Island where we were Careening, found two Men who had been there for the space of Eight Days to observe our Motions, and who taking us to be *Spaniards*, durst not come near us: They were two *French* Men belonging to the Pirogue of which the fore-mentioned Officer spoke to us, and who had defended themselves so vallantly against the six hundred *Spaniards*; we found them to be of the number of Fourteen and five, who had separated themselves under Captain *Grognet*, to go to *Callifornia*; they presently gave Notice to the other Eight and twenty, who came and joyed us, and of whom we learnt that they had saved themselves upon this Island, after they had been chased a whole Night by the *Spanish* Galley, that did not sail so well as their Pirogue. They told us also they had gone down a matter of forty Leagues to Windward of *Acapulco*, without being able any more than once to go ashore, and that then they ran a great risque, so boisterous is the Sea in those Parts, wherewith they were so discouraged, that they had forsaken fifty five of their Companions, in order to come and find us out, and left them to continue their Course for *Callifornia*.

Having made an end of our Careening, on the 10th. we made every thing ready for our Departure, after we had given those thirty Men room in our Ships: We sailed from the Coast of *Acapulco* with a design to find out the other fifty five Men spoken of, who were to make a Descent there, and to rid them from a miserable state wherunto, in all appearance, they had gone to plunge themselves, without any hopes of Retrieve, being too small a Company to find out Provisions (whereof they stood in great need) in the best Peopl'd Country upon the Continent, where also it could not be believed they should arrive, having but a little sorry Bark under them, that could not carry them far without splitting in two.

We had at our Departure an Easterly breeze, wherewith we were favoured till we came to the height of *Sanfonat*; from the Fifteenth to the One and twentieth



we were becalmed all along in the Day-time, and the Winds were so high in the Nights, that we could not carry our Sails; on the 22d. we had a pretty good Gale from the South-East; and on the 27th. we drew near Land, to know where we were: We found our selves to Windward of the Bay of *Tecoantepequa*, and put out our Canoes to go in thither, while at the same time we appointed our Ships to Rendezvouz in the Port of *Vatulco*, which is twenty Leagues to Leeward: We came very near Land in the Evening, but the Sea runs so high along that Coast, that it was impossible to go ashoar.

On the 29th. we found an Embarking-place, where there was a very strong Entrenchment guarded by a considerable number of *Spaniards*, and supposing it would cost us dear to go ashoar in that place, we sailed two Leagues to Leeward, where the Sea was somewhat more pacifick, but found here also about three hundred Men upon an Eminence waiting for us: We detached fifty of us to go and meet them, but the *Spaniards* after having made a foolish Discharge fled; However, we took two of their Number, and asked them, whither that way led, upon which we were; they told us it would bring us to the Town of *Tecoantepequa*, according to whose Name that Bay was called, and that we had but four Leagues to it: We lay next Night upon the Road, under the Canopy of Heaven, according to our usual Custom; next day, which was the thirtieth, we resolved to go to the said Town, and directed our Course that way, in such a manner, that about two in the Afternoon we had a sight of the place from an Ascent, which is about half a League off.

As it is encompassed and beset every way with Eight *Suburbs*, it seemed to be so large, that we were a long time deliberating with our selves whether so small a number as we were ought to go thither, as being no more than an hundred and fourcore Men, whereas there was three thousand of the Enemy in the place: In the meantime the extream necessity we were reduced to for want of Provisions, pressed us to advance, and would not let us deliberate long upon the Danger that lay before us, so that all our Apprehensions being reduced to the fear we had of Starving to Death, we pursued our March to go and confront our Enemies.

*Their Adventures in their march to Tecoantepequa, which they take.*

When

When we had marched about half an hour, we found our selves near the Town, and upon the brink of a great and very rapid River, which separates it from four of the *Suburbs* that adjoyn to it; this River we crost over, by going up in the Water to the middle, in spite of the *Spaniards* who were intrenched on the other side, to dispute the Passage with us, which they were forced to leave open for us, after a good hours sharp Dispute. As soon as we were Masters of the Intrenchment, we entered the Town, where after we had fought hand to hand with the Enemy, like Men enraged with Hunger, we became Masters of the place of Arms about four in the Afternoon: But our Work was not yet done, for the Enemy having again entrenched themselves in a very fine Abbey, built in the manner of a Platform that commanded the Town; we went to the number of Fourscore Men to dislodge them, which was so readily executed, that having chased them thence, we made our Court of Guard of it, and then every one endeavour'd to satisfy that Hunger wherewith we were extremely pinched.

A Description  
of Tecoa-  
antepe-  
qua.

When we were got into this Town, we found it yet much more spacious and larger than it appeared to be unto us, from the forementioned Ascent; its Houses are well built, the Streets very strait, and the Churches exceeding stately and Ornamental. The Abbey of *St. Francis*, from whence we drove the Enemy, appeared more like unto a Fort than a Religious Convent, and was built to serve for that use in case of need.

On the 31<sup>st</sup>. we sent to require them to Ransom the Town, or else we would burn it; we had no Answer return'd, which made us conjecture they had a mind to come and Attack us, for which they had so much the more Advantage, in that the River which began from the time that we passed it, to overflow, was about to hem us in; wherefore we decamped and lay in one of the *Suburbs* that stands on the other side, where we continued to the third of *September*; when we departed to return to our Canoes, without reaping any Advantage by the taking of this Town: We re embarked on the fifth, and went to joyn our Ships in the Port of *Vatulco*, where we arrived the Ninth: On the 15<sup>th</sup>. we went off again in our Canoes without a Guide, and having landed, marched ten or a dozen Leagues up the Country, where

we

we took divers Villages, and in one of them the old Governour of *Merida* with his Family, who was retired to this place, and who promised us a quantity of Provision for his Ransom, in expectation whereof we carried him on Shipboard, where we arrived on the 25th. The same day about Ten in the Morning we discovered a Ship, and put out with our Canoes to know what she was; she bore to the Cape, and put up *Spanish* Colours, but as the Sea ran very high, and that our Canoe could not well weather it, we returned again into Port. Now the Ship believed 'twas her Colours that hindered us to come on Board her, wherefore she took the same again, and put up a white Flag in the room of them; we at the same time fitted up our Galley to go and hale her, but she could never get out of the Port, whereupon she sailed away, and as our Ships were much out of order, we could not follow her. She was, undoubtedly, a Frigate built in the North-Sea, but it was impossible for us to know what Nation she belonged to.

The Sea being calm on the 26th. we went with our Galley about twenty Leagues to Windward of *Acapulco*, to see if the abovementioned Ship were not put in to Port, we judging by her Rigging she wanted to put in somewhere to Land; But we returned without any News of her. We waited till the fourth of *November* for the Ransom of the Governour, which we did not overmuch press, as finding in this Port and Parts adjacent, plenty of *Shells*, particularly of *Tortoises*, which we had there in great Numbers, and *Hatto's*, that are to be met with and down frequently here, furnished us with all our Necessaries; besides that we had here a place of security from the *Insults* of the *Spaniards*.

It's impossible to go ashore from *Sanfonat* to *Acapulco*, as it be in the Ports, or Bays; and though that which they call the *Salt-Pls* be difficult of Access, because of the smallness of it, and that the Sea there runs very high, yet they esteem it a Bay for all that: It's the first you meet with after *Sanfonat*, and stands twenty Leagues to Windward of that of *Tecoantepequa*, which the *Spaniards* set down also for a Bay in their Charts, tho' so far from being deep, that it can scarce be distinguished from the rest of the Coast: There is a Lake at the bottom of this last place bearing the same Name, with which it had formerly a Communication, but whose

Mouth at present is stopped up by a Bank of Sand which the Waves have drove thither: This Lake hems in three Islands that are not far distant from one another, and all of them very near the Mouth thereof: Some years since the *Hourqua* of *Acapulco* that went to the *East-Indies*, in its return entered into this Lake through the Bay, and we understood that Some *Spaniards* had entered by the other end of it into the River of *Vastagua*, that discharges it self into a Bay of New *Spain*, and consequently to the North-Sea.

An Account of  
the *Hourqua*.

When this *Hourqua* returns from the *Phillipine* Islands, where the *Spaniards* drive a great Traffick, 'tis one of the richest Vessels that sails upon the Ocean; it's of a prodigious bigness, and built so strong, that she is afraid of nothing but Land and Fire, she is provided with forty of pieces Cannons, whereof one half is of no use to her, for her Lading makes her sink so deep in the Water, that her Battery between the two Decks is rendred useles; She goes out yearly from the Port of *Acapulco*, convoyed with a *Patach* of Twenty-eight Guns, and laden with several sorts of Merchandizes that she carries to the Inhabitants of those Islands, who by way of barter for the same, give a great deal of those curious *China*, and *Japan*-ware we see in *Europe*, and what is yet more valuable, Pearls, Gold-Dust, and precious Stones.

This Ship had great Advantage in making this Voyage, that is, that in making choice of a proper Season she goes, and returns in a Twelve-Months time, comprehending the while they stay in that Country, without being put to the trouble of veering about, and liffing Sails; & 'tis beyoud dispute, that she cannot be met by any that wait for her, before the Port of *Acapulco* in certain season of the year, which I shall take notice of here, for Reasons I have spoken of in the beginning of this Journal.

I shall not forget also to remark in this place, that it will be so much the more easie to take her, in that when she returns from those parts with the *Patach*, all the Crew are in so sickly, and dying a Condition, that of four hundred Men that make up the Complement, there is not one fourth of them in a Condition to defend, and this Distemper which they call *Scarbut*, never follows them in their return from the *Phillipines*, insomuch, that a Ship which goes from the North-Sea with a design

back after this *Houqua*, might in less than Eighteen Months time, bating the Perils and Accidents she might be liable to at Sea, return with immense Riches.

About twenty Leagues to Leeward of the Bay of *Tenacatpecqua* stands the Port of *Vatulco*, so small, that it cannot contain above ten or a dozen Ships, but yet they must have an Anchor fore and aft, for if they had no more than an Anchor out at the Forecastle, they would fall foul upon one another, in endeavouring to avoid it upon the change of Wind or Tyde.

At the entrance into the Port, which is very narrow, there is a Whirlpool to Leeward, which the *Spaniards* call *Caldera*, whereinto the Water enters in so violent a manner, that it makes a noise that may be heard above four leagues off.

Four Leagues lower there is another Port where you cannot Anchor with safety, because of the Rocks, where the bottom of it is full. In the passage to it stands a great Rock, called the *Fourillon*, which is all over as well as continually so covered with those sorts of Birds which we had before seen in the River of *Villia*, that there remains nothing of the Surface of it to be seen; and a little further is an Island, called *Sacrifice*.

About Eight Leagues lower, there are three small Ports of a Leagues distance one from another, whereof the called the *Angels* is the best; it's no difficult matter to find the passage to it, provided you sail along the Coast, but it's impossible to perceive it from the Main; there is a Rock stands at the Mouth of it that has an hole therein resembling a large Gate: From this Port to *Acapulco*, which is sixty Leagues off, we have no Har-

The Country which extends it self from the Bay of *Amoy* as far as *Acapulco*, is that upon the South-Sea that is best Peopled, and where there are moreover several famous and very rich Towns; more Gold Mines are to be found there than in *Pern*, though the Metal is not so fine; and those of *Tinfigal* alone, are more valued by the *Spaniards* than the Mines of *Potosi*, and therefore is not without reason that this Western Coast is called by the Name of *Costa-Rica*, though in our Geographical Maps they bestow this Name only upon a small part of this vast Tract of Land.

A Description  
of the Port  
of Vatulco.

The Free-  
booters  
take the  
Town of  
Muemeluna.

On the 7th. we went to make a Descent upon a little Town, called *Muemeluna*, which is Eight Leagues Windward of *Vatulco*, and Six up the Country, about four Leagues from the Sea side, and two from the Town; we found a very strong Entrenchment made upon a Rock that stands upon the River, but the *Spaniards* therein made no great Resistance, no more than in the Town where we completed our Victualling: The Prisoners we took, told us, that about a Month before they had seen a Frigate pass by, that sent a small Canoe with seven or eight Men in it to their *Embarking-place*, where they found some *Spaniards*, who made them Embark again with so much Precipitation, that one of their Men was drowned, and whom, indeed, we found dead upon the Shoar, whither the Sea had thrown him, with his Body lying some paces from him, which should not have been so long there, no more than the dead Carcass, if the *Spaniards* had espied it: For they believe themselves avenged, when they cut into pieces, or burn the Body of an Enemy; and we were assured, that we buried any of our Men in their Country, they would bring them up when we were gone, if they knew the place, for to exercise their Cruelty upon those Carcasses, when alive they could not make us feel.

We returned on the 16th. aboard our Ships, and on the 20th. being not able all along the Coast to hear any News of the Five and Fifty Men we were in quest of, we weigh'd Anchor, and directed our Course for the Bay of *Mapalla*, where we were minded to agree upon a place by which we were to repass to the North-Sea: On the 21st. we had a North-wind that carried us to a certain Latitude where the West Winds Reign, and continued to the 23d. when we were becalmed: On the first of December at Night we had a Storm, which separated us one from another, and thus we continued along and without any Water, for all our Casks were run, whereby we were reduced to the greatest Extremity, though we were but two Leagues from the Shoar: But it was impossible for us to go ashore, for it's a Bank of Sand that reaches from the Bar of *St. Mark* as far as *Sanfonnat*, for the space of about Four score Leagues, where the Sea breaks with great violence: Believing ourselves on the Sixth to be to Windward of this Bank, we Armed our Pirogue to go near the Shoar, and look

for a place where the Sea was Calmer; next day one of our Men being more impatient than the rest, and egged on with Drought that tormented him four days, swam to Land, but thinking to return in the same manner, he was drowned without our being able to succour him, notwithstanding all the cry he made unto us to save him: On the 9th. in the beginning of the Night we thought we had seen a little Bay, before which we Anchored, but we might know in the Morning what it was, during which time we heard the firing of about six hundred Musquets on the Land. As soon as Day light appeared, on the 10th. we saw that what we took for a Bay, was a kind of a Covert that stands Fifteen-Leagues to Leeward of *Sanfama*, where we could see no likelihood of sailing in. In the mean time we saw a very pretty Ship upon the Stocks in that place, which made us conclude there must of necessity be a Passage for her to come out; we Anchored pretty near the Reck, to wait for a Tyde, during which time, a Wind blew from the Sea, and we adventur'd with the help of our Sails and Oars to get in, where we were saluted with three Waves that half filled our Pirogue in the very sight of the *Spaniards*, who watched our entring in. We put up to one side of the said Covert, and fired for the space of half an hour upon their Magazines, built by the side thereof, without their returning us one single shot; But at last we being tormented with violent Drought, which we were desirous to allay what it cost us, we hois'd up our Sail, and run up our Pirogue before them, who believing we were going to their Town, that was but half a League off, they went off. But as we were no more than two and twenty Men, instead of running after them, we improved their Flight, filling our Casks with Water, and to furnish our selves with what Provision we found in the Magazines, and some of that Ship's Rigging which were more necessary for ours; but not daring all at once to lade our Pirogue with them, for fear of sinking in her Passage out; we spent the Night on the other side of those Magazines, that we might be under Covert from the Surprizes of our Enemies, for we computed very well by the six hundred Musquet shot we had heard, that there was a great many Armed Men in that place.



On the 11th. we departed from under the Covert, to go and joyn our Ship, which we found on the 12th. in the Morning lying at Anchor Eight Leagues to Windward of *Sanfonnat*, where she had found the Sea somewhat more favourable: We spent that day to take in Water, and sent twenty Men to take a Village that was about half a League from the Sea-side, from whence we returned the same day with some Refreshments, that put Life into our Ship's Crew, now much weakened with the Thirst they endur'd, as well as we who were in the Pirogue, as also with Hunger, which failed not to waste us away, though we had Victuals to satisfy the same; but we durst not eat for fear of being made dry. We weigh'd Anchor in the Evening with a West Wind, and on the Fifteenth arrived in the Bay of *Mapalla*, where we found the rest of our Vessels at Anchor near one of those Islands that lye within it.

*They arrive at Mapalla.*

*Some account of the Winds in these parts.*

*Consultation about returning to the North-Sea.*

I am to observe, that as long as we were going up this Coast, that continually in the Night-time there blew Winds from the Land, which were very favourable to Sailors, provided they were not far out at Sea, for Ten Leagues off there could be but very little of it felt, and there are certain Seasons when it blows so violently, that they are obliged to lower their Sails, and even to furl: On the 17th. we had a Consultation together about what Passage, according to the Prisoner's Relations, was less dangerous for us, to return to the North-Sea over Land; it was thought our best way was by *Segovia*, seeing we had no more than sixty Leagues to go before we came to the head of a River, upon which they told us, we might go down to the North-Sea whereunto it discharged it self; and that in the way we were to take by Land, we could have no more than five or six thousand Men to deal with, and that the way was very good to carry our wounded and sick Men along with us: But we were not fully convinced of the sincerity of this Advice, we sent two of our Canoes to Shoar to take some other Prisoners, that so we might see whether they should confirm, or contradict this Information, and thereby be the more fully instructed concerning those things that might be an Obstruction to our Passage, and others that might facilitate the same.

We went a Shoar on the 18th. to the number of Seventy Men, and marched all day long without meeting

one

one Soul, as we did also the next day till Noon, without any more discovery than in the preceding one, where- with we were so fatigu'd, that we resolv'd to return back again; And here we may add, that the greatest part of our Men were not overcontent to repass by Land to the North-Sea, because of the five or six thousand Men wherewith we were threaten'd, wherefore we left those that were minded, to return to their Canoes, and Eighteen of us, who found our selves less weary than the rest, staid behind: We followed a great Road which we met with soon after they had left us, and had not walk'd above an hour, when we took three Horse-men, whom, when we had asked where we were, they told us, that about a quarter of a League off there was a little Town, call'd *Chiloteca*, wherein there were four hundred white Men, besides *Negroes*, *Mulaters*, and *Indians*, and assured us, we had not been yet discover'd: We had a mind to run after our Men, to acquaint them with this Account, and engage them to go back with us to the Town; but the Apprehensions we were under of being discovered, and thereby giving the Inhabitants time to put themselves into a posture of Defence, hinder'd us to do so, and made us undertake perhaps the boldest, most resolute, and if you will, the rashest Action that could be thought of; which was, that being no more of us than Eighteen Men, as I have said before, we should adventurously enter that Town, where we surpriz'd and frighten'd the *Spaniards* to that Degree, that we took the Tenient and other Officers, to the number in all of fifty Persons, including the Women, Prisoners: They were seiz'd with such a pannick fear, supposing us to be far more numerous than we were, that all the rest would doubtless have been taken and bound by us, had it not been for their Horses, which are always at hand, which they mounted to ride away upon. And so it was as we would have it, for if they had had the Courage to stay behind, they might have cut our Work for us, whereof we had already but too much, which was to watch our Prisoners.

We ask'd the Tenient where the Galley of *Panama* was, Being at- who made Answer, she lay at Anchor in the *Embarking-tack* by place of *Carthage*, which is *Caldaira*, where she waited the *Spani-* for us, as hoping we would pass that way to go to the ards, they North-Sea, and that the King of *Spain's* Ship the *St. kill their*

*Lorenzo* was in the Port of *Realeguo*, mounted with thirty pieces of Cannon, and four hundred Men on Board, to hinder us to come near that place which they began to settle in again: As we had a desire to lye in that little Town where we now were; we farther ask'd him what number of Men we should have occasion for to guard us, if we should stay there, he told us, they would be six hundred Men next day there, but that they had no more Fire-Arms than for two hundred. The *Spaniards*, who, during this time, were a little recovered of their Astonishment, being got together, enter'd in to the Town again, and after we have several times confisted with them, we entrenched our selves in the Church, where we had put our Prisoners, who seeing us go in with Precipitation, believed their People pursued us close, and were just upon falling on us; which made them so bold, as to run to the Swords, and other Arms we had got together, wherewith they wounded us one Man. We presently got to the Doors, and from thence fired upon them so long, till there were no more than four Men and their Wives left alive of them: At the same time we mounted the Horses which we had taken, and with our four Prisoners of each Sex, went away with as little noise as we could, which the other *Spaniards* observing, they sent one to treat with us, but we refused, and fired upon him, for fear, if he came too near us, he should come to know how few we were. Next day, which was the 20th. we rejoyned our other People, who had rested themselves at an *Hatio* they had met with in their return, and who gave us Assistance against six hundred of those *Spaniards* who followed in the Rear of us; Then we gave the Women Prisoners their liberty: On the 21st. we went on Board our Canoes, and next day reach'd our Ships, where we interrogated our four new Prisoners concerning the Passage we had projected; but they laid so many Difficulties before us, that we grew almost out of conceit with it. But yet, when we considered, we must either make our way through, or end our days miserably in an horrible want of all convenient Necessaries, and in an Enemies Country where we grew weaker every day by the loss of our Men, we resolved to hazzard all to get out of it inso much, that being no longer daunted at the danger we were to run in this Passage, and being perswaded it would

*They re-  
solve to re-  
turn to  
the North  
Sea by  
Land,*

would be better for us to die with our Swords in our Hands, than to pine away with Hunger; We made all things ready for this Journey, and to the end we might cut off from the most Timorous, any desires they might have to return to their Ships, if their Minds should alter, in reference to their going along with us, we ran our Vessels ashore, except our Galley and Pirogues, which we reserved to carry us off the Island where we were to the Continent.

On the 15th. we formed four Companies consisting of seventy Men each, making altogether two hundred and fourscore; and as for the forlorn Hope, we agreed to draw out ten Men out of each, and to relieve them every Morning: We also made a Contract among ourselves, that those who should be lamed in the Encounters we might have with the Enemy in our way, should have the same Recompence as formerly, that is, a thousand pieces of Eight a Man, that the Horses we should take, should be divided between the Companies for the ease of all our Men, and for those that were incommoded above any of the rest: That those that straggled and should be lamed, should have no Recompence made them, and that Violence, Cowardice, and Drunkenness should also be punish'd as formerly.

Before I leave these Seas, I'll spare the Reader the trouble of asking how we came to endure so much Hunger, Miseries, and Fatigues in these parts, since I have laid upon several occasions, that the Country is so good and pleasant as well as fruitful in the Production of all things necessary for the support and comfort of human Life: As to this, there needs no more than observing that since our separation from the *English* at the Isle of *St. John*, we were all along so illy accommodated with Shipping, that we were forced to keep continually to the Coast, and by consequence in sight of the *Spaniards*, who discovering even the least Motions we made, had almost always time to remove all their Effects out of the way, before we made our Descent, and left us nothing but what they could not carry away, which was many times but very inconsiderable, whereas, had we had but one good Ship to put out far to Sea, they could not have discovered us, and we should have surprized them continually in our Descents, where we could have wanted nothing, not only that was necessary, but also pleasurable, besides the Wealth we must have carried away in a short time,

The reason of their Necessities.

This

This want of Shipping, under which we laboured, so advantageous to our Enemies, and the consequence thereof they knew so well, that the People of Peru sent no more Ships to the Western Coast where we were, for fear some of them might fall into our Hands, and Traded with one another no otherwise than by Land.

The same Reason also hindered us to go up to the Coast of Peru, where we could not have failed of having Ships, seeing they sailed up and down there every day, and drove a great Trade with one another, knowing we were not so near unto their Country; so that it is easie from what I have remarked to conjecture, that for want of these helps which were of so much importance to us in these Seas; we must also very often stand in need of all those things which we could not but with the greatest difficulty have without them, whereon to make any thing of it in these Climates and to raise a considerable Fortune, without much danger and sufferings; there needs no more than to be provided with a good Ship, and for the better conveniency, Victuals for some time, that so there may be no necessity of going ashore to seek it.

On the 27th. we discovered a Ship passing along between the Islands, which made us send our Galley and Pirogue to see what she was, she put up a white Flag, but as soon as we came within Musquet-shot of her, she took down the white Flag, and put out Spanish Colours, and withal, gave us ten or a dozen Guns; we returned to the Shoar to give our People notice of it; not doubting, but if that Ship came to an Anchor in the same place, she would destroy our Pirogues: We sent them with our Baggage and Prisoners up to the Flats that are behind the Island where we were.

This Vessel about Noon came in with the Tyde, and Anchored within half a Cannon-shot of ours that were run ashore, under the Covert of which we fought against them with two pieces of Cannon till it was night, but as the Enemy had no other aim than to ruin our Ships, they put them this first day out of a condition to sail, (which was what our selves had a mind to) and then put farther off from the Shoar.

On the 28th. in the Morning they drew nearer again, and began to fight us, which made us shelter our selves behind

...the Points of the Rocks that run out into the Sea, from whence our Arms carried aboard them; upon this they were forced to send their shallop under the favour of their Cannon, to take away an Anchor that was nearer to the Shoar than their Ship, but being prevented therein, they cut off the Cable that held it, and put off again: At last, concluding with our selves that this Ship would not leave us so hastily, we sent an hundred Men in the Evening to the Continent before us, that they might endeavour to take some Horses, on which we might lay our disabled Men, with orders afterwards to return and wait for us upon the Sea-side in the same place where they went to the Shoar, (which was a kind of a Port we had assigned them) in case they had returned before our Arrival there. And for fear the *Spanish* Ship should suspect, from the running of ours a ground, the design we had to go to the North-Sea, and that the Men on Board her would send to the Continent to give the People notice about themselves in a readiness to hinder us; we counterfeited all night long the caulking of our Ships, that we might fully possess them with a belief, that we were careening them, which wrought so effectually upon them, that in the Morning they failed not to come up to destroy with their Cannon, the Work they fancied we had been doing during the night.

On the 29th. their Ship took Fire, which made them get farther off, where they extinguish'd it: On the 30th. we made use of a new Stratagem to amuse our Enemies, and take away all manner of suspicion from them, that we designed to be gone, which was to charge our Guns, Granadoes, and four pieces of Cannon, whereunto we tied lighted Matches of different lengths, that so having their effect in our Absence one after another, the *Spanish* Ship's Crew might still believe we were upon the Island, from whence we parted in the Twilight, as secretly as ever we could, with all our Prisoners, whom we reserved for no other use than to carry our Chirurgion's Medicines, Carpenter's Tools, and the wounded Men we might have in this Passage.

On the 1st. of *January*, in the year 1688, we arrived on the Continent, and on the Evening of the same day, the Party which we had sent before to look for Horses, came thither likewise: They had taken Sixty Eight with several Prisoners, who, without any Violence offered them,

*A notable  
amuse-  
ment to  
facilitate  
their e-  
scape.*

*They  
Provide  
for their  
Journey.*

them, told us, they did not think it advisable we should Travel through *Segovia*, because the *Spaniards* had Intelligence we had made choice of that Province to go through : But as we had already resolved upon the Matter, and that our Ships could be of no longer use unto us, all that they could say to the contrary, did not hinder us to persevere therein. All our People at the same time packed up every Man his Charge, and put their Silver into Bags, which they thought they could carry with their Ammunition : Those who had too much of the former, gave it to those who had lost theirs at Play, for to carry, conditioning with them, that they should return the one half back to the Owner, in case it should please God to bring them safe to the North-Sea.

*The Author's Device to save his Treasure.*

As for my self, I must say, I was none of the worst provided, and though my Charge was lighter than others, yet it was not for all that less considerable for the value, seeing I had converted thirty thousand pieces of Eight into Gold, Pearls, and precious Stones. But as the best part of this was the Product of Luck I had at Play, some of those who had been losers as well in playing against me as others, being much discontented at their Losses, plotted together to the number of Seventeen or Eighteen, to murder those that were the Richest amongst us : I was so happy as to be timely advertised of it by some Friends, which did not a little disquiet my Mind, for it was a very difficult Task, for a Man, during so long a Journey, to be able to secure himself from being surprized by those who were continually in the Company, and with whom he must eat, drink, and sleep, and who could cut off whom they pleased of them, in the Conflicts they might have with the *Spaniards*, by shooting us during the Hurry, which yet they executed in another manner, as may be seen in the place : The apprehensions I had of this Conspiracy did not hinder me to retain so much Judgment and presence of Mind, as to fall presently upon such Methods as I thought most rational and secure for the preservation of my Life, and which effectually saved it, which was to deposite some of what I possess in the hands of diverse persons, and that in the presence of all the rest, upon condition they should restore unto me such a proportion as I agreed with them for, when we were come upon the Coast of *Domingo*. By this means I rid my self of



I care I should continually have had of keeping upon Guard, without exposing them much neither, who had my Effects, the which being divided diversly, and to different Persons, they had to do with too many People to compass their ends. It's true, I paid for this Precaution; but what will not a Man do to save his Life?

## CHAP. VI.

*The return of the Freebooters from the South to the North-Sea, over the Continent, by another way than that by which they got thither.*

ON the Second day of January, in the Morning, after we had said our Prayers, and sunk our Pirogues, the Spaniards should have any benefit of them, we went out, and lay that Night by the Sea-side; we stopped next day about Noon at an Hatto to Baie: On the 4th. we lay upon a Plat-form that extends it self upon the top of several very high Mountains where the Spaniards, withstanding all the precautions we had taken, were informed of our departure, and failed not to let us have our Company, keeping themselves always in our Flanks and Rear.

On the 8th. we lay at another Hatto belonging to the Talent of Chilotea, about which place the Enemy began to Barricade the Ways: We rested on the Sixth for an hour and better at an Estancia to Baie, and upon a bed in an Hall there, we found the following Letter directed unto us in these Words:

**WE** are very glad that you have made choice of our Province for your Passage through, home-wards; but we are sorry you are no better laden with Silver; however, if you have occasion for Mules to carry your Baggage, we will send them to you, we hope to have the French General Grognet very quickly in our Power, and we will leave you to consider what is like to become of the Soldiers.

*A Letter writ to the Freebooters.*

We

We saw clearly by this Letter, that they knew nothing of the Death of *Grognet*, since they believed he was still our Commander, and that they had no knowledge of him, but by the Account that had been given them by the three Men that had run away from him to them, when they failed of getting the Gold of the Mines of *Tinsigal*.

*The Spaniards burn the Road.*

On the 7th. we met with an Ambuscade of the Enemy, whom our Van-Guard forced to retire, and lay in the Evening at an Hatto: The *Spaniards*, who left no means unattempted to destroy us, burnt all the Provision that was in our way, and also when we enter'd into any *Savannas* where the Grass was very dry, they went to Windward of us to set it on fire, whereby we were very much incommoded, and our Horses were even stifled with the Smeak: As we were sometimes obliged to stay till the Fire had burnt up all, to go forward, this very much retarded our March, and this was the chief thing the *Spaniards* aim'd at, that their Men might have leisure to finish a Retrenchment, whereof I shall quickly have occasion to speak, which they erected unknown to us at some distance off upon our Road, in which also the Work they cut out for us to remove the Barricadoes of Trees, wherewith they had encumbered the way, contributed very much; Inasmuch, that not being able to penetrate into their Designs, we persuaded our selves that they did all this with no other intent than to chagreen us only, as being not able to do work unto us; or I should have rather said, having not the Courage for it.

On the 8th. we passed on to a very fine Sugar-Plantation, and as we were very desirous to take some Prisoners who might inform us of what was done, all our Company filed off, and twenty of us staid behind in a House, after they had set it on Fire, to oblige the *Spaniards* to come and put it out, when they saw our Men at a distance from them, and this they failed not to do. But our Impatience being the means of discovering of us too soon, they thereupon fled; yet we firing upon them, wounded one, and took him, by whom we understood that all their Reinforcements were coming together to dispute our Passage, and that we were going to meet them that came from *Tinsigal*, who consisted of three hundred Men.

When

When we had done with this wounded Man, we returned our main Body, who had halted to wait for us, and then jogged on till we came to a great Burrough, where we found those three hundred Men, who afterwards were our continual Guard, for they gave us Morning and Evening the Diversion of their Trumpets, but 'twas like the Musick of the Enchanted Palace of *Psicha*, who heard it without seeing the Musicians, for ours marched on each side of us in places so covered with Pine-Trees, that it was impossible to perceive them.

We lay this Evening about a quarter of a League from the said Burrough, upon an Ascent according to our usual manner, who never incamped but upon high ground, or in the Race of *Savannas*, for fear of being hemmed in. We decamped on the 9th. in the Morning, after we had reinforced our advanced Guard with forty Men more, who were appointed to fire their Musquets at the Entries, or Avenues of the Woods, that we might have a sight of the *Spaniards*, in case they laid any Ambuscades for us: In the mean time, about ten in the Morning we passed on to a place that was so thin set with Wood, that we might see a considerable distance from us, and seeing no enemy appear, we did not fire at all: But we did not dream that we were seeking for that far before us, which we had at the sides of us, for the *Spaniards* who were ranged to the Right and Left of our way, lying on their Bellies, made their Discharges with so much precipitation, that there was no more than one half of our advanced Guard who had time to answer their firing. They killed us two Men presently, who were turned out of the way, to pass undiscover'd of the Enemy; after which we went to refresh our selves in a little Town that was in our way, and lay half a League beyond it.

We met with another Ambuscade on the 10th. where-in we were before-hand with our Enemies, and made them leave us their Horses, then went to bait at another Burrough, and lay a little farther.

On the 11th. as we drew near unto the Town of *Se-* *The Free-*  
*govia*, we met with a new Ambuscade a little on this side booters  
 and when we had forced them with our Fusils to re- enter *Se-*  
 tire, we went into the said Town, being resolved, and govio.  
 disposed to fight stoutly, as believing if the *Spaniards*  
 were minded to try us, they would use their greatest  
 Effort in that place, but they contented themselves with  
 firing

firing only a few Musquet-shot at us from under the Cover of some Pine-Trees that grow upon the Afore-which encompass the Town whither they were retired. We found nothing there to eat, because they had burnt all the Provision in the place.

By good luck we took a Prisoner to conduct us to the River we sought for, and which was still twenty Leagues off; for as much as those who had been our Guides as far as Segovia knew not the way any farther.

Segovia  
described.

This Town lies in a bottom, and is so surrounded with Mountains, that she looks as if she were laid up in Prison; the Churches here are but very indifferently built, and the place of Arms is both very considerable and very fine; it's an Inland place forty Leagues from the South-Sea. The way that leads to it from the place where we were, is very difficult, being all Mountains of a prodigious height, to the tops whereof we must creep with great danger, and the Valleys consequently are so very narrow here, that for a League or even Ground you pass over, you have six Leagues of Mountains to go: When we had past these Mountains we felt a very sharp Cold, and were taken with so thick a Fog, that even when day appeared, we could not know one another no otherwise than by our Voices; but this lasted not till above ten in the Morning, when the Weather cleared up, and the Fog went entirely off; and the Heat which succeeds the Cold, becomes there very great as well as in the Plains, where none of this Cold is felt till you come directly to the Foot of the Mountains. Thus were we forced to endure such contrary Seasons as well when we Travelled, as when we reposed ourselves, that they exposed us to very great Inconveniences: But the hopes of getting once into our Native Country, made us patiently to endure all these Tosses and served as so many Wings to carry us.

They continue  
their  
Journey.

On the 12th. we departed from this Town, and went to other Mountains, where we had incredible trouble to clear the ways of those works the Spaniards had prepared to Barricade them up with; we went to lodge in an Hamlet where they fired very much in the Night into our Camp.

On the 13th. an hour before Sun-rising, we mounted along an Eminence, that seemed to us to be an advantageous place to Encamp on; from thence we lay upon the edge of a Mountain from which we were to pass

passed but by a narrow Valley, twelve or fifteen Hor-  
ses which we took for some time for Cattle that fed  
thereat we much rejoiced, as being in hopes we  
should next Morning have good Chear at the cost of  
these Animals; and that we might be the more assured  
of the matter, we sent forty Men thither, who told us  
on their return, that what we took for Beefs, were all  
Horses, and that they had observed three Retrench-  
ments in the same place, about Pistol-shot one from a  
other, which raising by degrees towards the middle  
of the same side of the Mountain, fully barricaded the  
way through which we were to pass next day, and com-  
municated a small Stream that ran along the said Valley,  
by which we must necessarily descend first, there being  
no other way, nor any likelihood of our going on one  
side thereof. They saw also a Man, who, as soon as he  
saw d them, severely threatn'd them with his Cutlass,  
which he held naked in his Hand.

This sad Tyding was a mighty alloy to our Joy, and  
the transformation of those pretended Beefs, on  
our pining Appetite had depended so much, af-  
forded us to a great degree; but these Thoughts were ar-  
ranted to be laid aside, to make room for to consider  
how we should disentangle our selves from that place,  
and that without delay, because the *Spaniards*, who were  
coming together from all the adjacent Provinces, would  
fall upon our small Company, who must of ne-  
cessary be overborn by them, if we staid for them: The  
means to effect this were not easily found, and perhaps it  
might have appear'd an impossible thing to any other  
such as we were, who till then had been successful  
in all our Undertakings; and to be plain in the  
matter, we found our selves now hard put to it: For as I  
said to the rest of our People, ten thousand Men  
could not be able to force their way through that In-  
strument, without being cut to pieces, as well because  
of the advantage of the place, as the number of *Spani-*  
ards that defended it, which we might compute by that  
of their Horses; and seeing a single Man could hardly pass  
the side of it, there was no likelihood we should be  
able to do it with our Horses and Baggage, so rough was  
the Country: And indeed, saving the Road it self, all the  
way was no other than a thick Forest without either  
paths or Paths, full of sharp Rocks in some places,

The Spaniards in-  
trenched  
in a most  
advanta-  
geous Post  
to obstruct  
their Pas-  
sage.

The Author's Advice about forcing them.

of Quagmires in others, and embarrassed with a great many Trees that had dropped down to the Ground with Age: And tho' after all, we should have found out a way to escape a-cro's so many Obstacles, there was still an indispenfible necessity that we should fight with the *Spaniards*, that we might be at quiet for the rest of our Journey. This they all agreed to; but, as they objected unto me, that it was to no purpose to represent the Difficulties, which of themselves were but too apparent, without proposing some Method to surmount them, nor to give Counsel without facilitating the execution thereof: I told them, that for my part, I could not see what else we could do, but go cros those Woods, Precipices, Mountains, and Rocks, how unaccessable soever they appeared to be, and endeavour to surprize the Enemy in the Rear, and to gain the Advantage of the Ground from them, by getting above them, where surely we were not expected; and that I would answer for the Success of the same at the Peril of my Life, if they would undertake it: That as for our Prisoners, Horses, and Baggage, wherewith we were incumbered, we ought not to leave them defenceless, to the Discretion of those Three Hundred Men, who always kept close to us in our March, and encamped every Evening about a Musquet-shot off; That we ought to leave Fourscore Men to Guard them with all necessary Precaution, as you'll hear by and by, and that such a Number was enough to fight with so many *Spaniards* five times told.

We took some time to deliberate hereupon, and in length these Expedients, how hazardous soever they were, being found the most suitable to the Condition we were in, and I may say, the only ones we had left us, we resolved to lay hold of them, and put the same in execution.

Scarce had we projected the Design, and considered the Ascent where we were, the Situation of the opposite Mountain, where the *Spaniards* had made their Retrenchments, but that above the highest of them we saw a Road, which we took to be the Continuation of that which they had shut up against us, and turning to the Right, went winding about the side of the same Mountain, which yet we could not discover but with difficulty, and by Lights peeping in between the Trees, which

which would allow us to see but some traces at a distance from one another.

As we had not hitherto resolved upon which side to march, in order to get behind those Intrenchments, whether the right or left, this way decided that point, being satisfied, that if we could but once cross it, it would bring us directly upon the Enemy: But yet that we should not engage our selves inconsiderately in this Enterprise, where all things went for us, we sent Twenty Men while we had any Day-light left, to a Place that was somewhat higher than that where we were, to cover another Party, whom we had known by Experience to have been very ingenious and expert upon several Occasions, that so they might pitch upon those Places, by which we might, in the Night, the more easily get up to that Road, thereby to go and charge the Enemy in the Rear by break of Day.

As soon as our Men were returned, and gave us an account of what they had observed, we made all things ready for our departure, but we first made that Station where we were leaving, a Place of Arms, where we left our Ammunition, all the Prisoners we had, and Four-score Men to guard them, and this, that the Three Hundred Spaniards who continually followed us, as well as those who were posted behind the Retrenchments, might be assured we had not left our Camp; and we gave the Officer that commanded Order to make every Sentinel fit, or relieved in the Night-time, to fire his Fusil, and that he should beat the Drum at the usual hour: We told him moreover, that if God gave us the Victory, we should send a Party to bring him off, and that if an hour after he heard the Firing at an end, he should see any Body from us, he should provide for his own safety as well as he could.

Things being thus disposed, we said our Prayers as low as we could, that the Spaniards might not hear us, from where we were separated but by the Valley we have spoken of: At the same time we set forward, to the number of Two Hundred Men, by Moon-light, it being now an hour within Night, and about one more before our departure, we heard the Spaniards also at their departure, who knowing we were encamped very near them, fired about Six Hundred Musquets into the Air to frighten us. Besides which, they also made a Discharge



at all the Responses of the Litany of the Saints which they sung. We still pursued our March, and spent the whole Night (in going down, and then getting up) to advance half a quarter of a League, which was the distance between them and us, through a Country, as I have already said, so full of Rocks, Mountains, Woods, and frightful Precipices, that our Posterior and Knees were of more use to us than our Legs, it being impossible for us to Travel thither otherwise.

*They pass  
over most  
difficult  
ways to  
fall on  
their  
Rear.*

On the Fourteenth by break of Day, as we were got over the most dangerous parts of this Passage, and had already seized upon a considerable Ascent of the Mountain, by clambering up to it in great silence, and leaving the *Spaniards* Retrenchments on our left, we saw their Party that went the Rounds; who, thanks to the Fogs that are very rife in this Country (as I have already said) till Ten a Clock, did not discover us. As soon as they were gone by, we went directly to the Place where we saw them, and found it to be exactly the Road we were minded to seize on: When we had made an Halt for about half an hour to take breath, and that we had a little Day-light to facilitate our March, we followed this Road by the Voice of the *Spaniards*, who were at their Morning Prayers, and we were but just beginning our March, when unfortunately we met with two Out-Sentinels, on whom we were forced to Fire, and this gave the *Spaniards* notice, who thought of nothing less than to see us come down from above them upon their Retrenchment, since they expected us no other way than from below: So that those who had the Guard thereof, and were in Number about Five Hundred Men, finding themselves on the outside, when they thought they had been within, and consequently open without any Covert, took the Alarm so hot, that falling all on upon them at the same time, we made them quit the Place in a moment, and make their Escape by the favour of the Fogg.

*They prevail  
against the  
Spaniards.*

This so much unexpected Morning Musick disturbed the whole Oeconomy of their Designs, and so thwarted their whole Contrivance, that those of the other two Retrenchments drew all without the lowermost, where they prepared to defend themselves; We fought with them a whole hour from under the Covert of the first Retrenchment, which we had got of them, and which

exactly

exactly commanded them, because of its elevated Situation upon the Mountain: But as they gave no Ground, we began to think that the Shot we discharged, did not reach them, because of the Fogg which hindred us to discover them, and that we could not Fire but according to the Discharges that came from them; so that being resolved to lose our Aim no longer, we advanced, and fell directly upon the Place from whence they fired: There we fought them stoutly, and they did not quit the Place, 'till such time as they saw the butts of our Musquets, and that near them, the sight whereof the Mist had till then taken from them; But then being much terrified, they left us all, and ran that way which was before their Retrenchments, which proved very inconvenient for them; because that being the only Place by which they thought we could come at them, they had cut down all the Trees that grew there, and in the adjacent Parts, as well because they might obstruct their sight in this Bottom, as hinder us to come on under the covert of them: And thus the Precaution which they had taken against us, by a quite contrary Effect was turned upon themselves, insomuch that we had so clear a view of them from the Retrenchments we had taken, that we did Execution almost with every Piece we shot. We pursued them after that for some time, still beating them, but at length being weary, both of running and killing, we returned to the Retrenchments where the Five Hundred Men, whom we had put to flight at first, being come back, endeavoured to break in upon those whom we had left to Guard them, but we made them like the rest quickly run away. We were also fatigued mightily in pursuing of them, for besides that the Ground was so extraordinary bad, and hard to pass, they had also augmented the Difficulties, by making use of the Trees which they had fell'd down, to barricade and stop up even the least Avenue that was near the Place round about.

We found these Spaniards had so little Mind to give us The Quarter, if they should have the upper hand of us, that strange even when we took any of them, they would not as much Temper of as ask it at our hands, and to some of them we gave the Spa-Quarter in spite of their Teeth, tho' they did other- niards, wise all that ever they could to save themselves out of our hands: But at this no man ought to wonder, for

it's a Maxim amongst them in these Parts, and whereof we have had Experience upon several Occasions, whether it proceed from Pride, or natural Fierceness of Temper, or because of an Oath they take before their Commander, before they go to Fight, that they will never submit to ask Quarter of those, to whom, they have sworn they would give none: But we in the mean time being affected with Compassion upon sight of the great quantity of Blood we saw running down into the Rivulet, spared the rest, and went a second time into our Intrenchments, having lost all this while but one Man, and two only wounded. The Spaniards, among others, lost their General, who was an old Walloon Officer, who had given them the Plan of this Retrenchment, that would infallibly have prevailed against us, had we attacked them by the way they expected. In the mean time another old Captain had advised him to secure their Rear, but he saw so little likelihood of danger on that side, that he answered, we must be either Men or Devils; that if we were Men, he desired us to get over any way in Eight days time; but if we were Devils, tho' he should take never so much care of himself, he must still be taken.

However, at the solicitation of the said Officer, he sent a Party that way to go the Rounds, and to Post the two Sentinels we spoke of, as they thought most convenient. The General being searched, there were several Letters found in his Pockets, which had been writ to him by the Governours of the Province, that set forth particularly the Number of Men they had sent him; and one, among others, from the General of Costa Rica, who express'd himself as follows.

*A Letter written by the General of the Province of Costa Rica, to the Commander in Chief in the Retrenchments, Dated January 6th. 1688.*

*The General of Costa Rica his Letter to the Chief Officer,*

S I R,

I Thought I had made a good Choice, when I committed to you the Conduct of an Affair which ought to re-establish our Reputation, if you have the better of the Enemy, as you induce me to believe you will; I was preparing to send you Eight Thousand Men, if you had not sent me word that Fifteen Hundred

dred was enough. I do not doubt but a Person that hath served so long as you have done, will take care of your Men, especially since you have to do with a People, from whom there will no Honour redound to you by over-doing them.

According to the Relation you have given me of your Retrenchments, it's impossible but those People, with the help of God, must be destroyed: I Advise you to put a Thousand Men into them, and Two Hundred near unto the River, by which they hope to get unto the North Sea. In case any of them save themselves cross the Mountains, Don Rodrigo Sarmado, the new Governour of *Tuifigal*, ought to be at the Head of Three Hundred Men, to fall upon the Rear, as soon as ever they are engaged, for certainly their Baggage must be there. Take good Measures, for those Devils have a Gunning and Subtily that is not in use amongst us.

When you find them advance within the shot of your Harquebusses, let not your Men fire but by Twenties, to the end your firing may not be in vain, and when you find them weakened, raise a Shout to frighten them, and fall in with your Swords; while Don Rodrigo Attacks them in the Rear. I hope God will favour our Designs, since they are no other than for his Glory, and the Destruction of these new sort of *Turks*; Hearten up your Men, tho' they may have enough of that according to your Example; They shall be rewarded in Heaven, and if they get the better, they will have Gold and Silver enough, where-with these Thieves are laden.

After we had sung *Te Deum* upon the Field of Battle, by way of Thanks unto God for this Victory, we mounted Sixty Men on Horseback to go and give notice to our other People of the Success the Almighty was pleased to give us. We found them ready to begin another Engagement against the Three Hundred *Spaniards*, whereof we have spoken, who, as soon as they heard that Action at the Retrenchments begin, and saw how few Men we had left behind in our Camp, were easily induced to believe we had made our Attack by that disadvantageous way I have spoke of, as supposing it impossible for us to do it in any other Place.

and, that therefore our Ruin must be inevitable; Infomuch; that instead of entering directly into the Place, which, considering their Number, they could have carried in a moment, they had so little Courage, that they contented themselves to send an Officer to our Men that guarded the Baggage, to Parley with them, whom they stopped for a time, in expectation of some News from us, that so they might return an Answer conformable to the Intelligence they received. And thus the Platform I had laid whereon to ground the sufficiency of Fourscore of our Men for that Work, or rather the Cowardize of the Enemy, was fully confirmed.

They told us, that as soon as we had begun the Fight, those Three Hundred Spaniards advanced a little, and having got upon an Eminence that commanded our Camp, they alighted, and sent them the said Officer to make the following Harangue to them.

*A Spanish Officer's Speech to a part of the Freebooters.*

‘ I come hither from my General; you say, you do not question but you have Force enough, and that you are Men of Courage, which you have let us know whenever you have been minded to make your selves Masters of our Country; yet you are not to doubt but the great numbers of Men we have got together, will over-power you. We are to let you understand, there are a Thousand Men in that Retrenchment against whom they are gone to fight, where they are worsted; that we are Three Hundred Men in this Place, and that Two Hundred are posted near to the River you go and seek, to wait for those of you who escape out of the Fight: Wherefore if you will give your selves up Prisoners of War into the Power of our General, who is a Man of Honour, we will be Friends, and we will let you pass to your own Country: But as to those of your Men whom ours have taken alive, their Almoner, yesterday after Prayers, begged Quarter for them, for the Honour of the Holy Sacrament, and Glorious Virgin, which has been promised unto them.

Our Men hearing him talk at this rate, were already somewhat alarmed, as fearing what he said was true; but as soon as they saw us come at a distance, they took Courage, and returned him as fierce an Answer, like Men who had no fear upon them, to this purpose.

‘ Though

Though you had had Force enough to destroy two thirds of our Number, we should not fail still to fight with the remaining part; yea, tho' there were but one Man of us left, he should fight still against you all.

*Their bold Answer.*

When we put ashore, and left the South Sea, we all resolv'd to pass through your Country, or die in the Attempt; and tho' there were as many Spaniards of you as there is Grass in this *Savanna*, we should not be afraid, but look upon you always in our Opinion Cowards, and we will pass on, and go where we will in spite of your Teeth.

The Officer being dismiss'd upon our arrival, mounted his Horse to return from whence he came, and observing we were booted, and mounted upon his Companions Horses who guarded the Retrenchments, he shrunk up his shoulders, by way of amazement, and rode as fast as he could to carry the News to his own Party. As soon as he was got to them, who were not above a Musquet-shot off, we advanced, and fell upon them, to put them out of Condition all at once to follow us any more: We received their first Firing, to which we made no return otherwise than with our Pistols and Cutlasses, and that unhappily for them who had not yet got upon their Horses, for we cut a great many of them to pieces, inasmuch that God crowning all the Advantages we had had in the rest of our Engagements, by the Success we had in this last, we let the rest go, detaining only their Horses; And when we had broken all their Arms, we with our Baggage rejoyned our main Body, who staid still upon the Place to Guard the Retrenchments. We had no more than one Man killed in this Engagement (as 'twas in the other) and two maimed.

*They defeat the Spaniards.*

We asked some of the Prisoners, whom we had taken, several Questions, and they told us, among other things, that we should still meet with another Retrenchment upon the Road, about six Leagues distant from those we quitted, which made us fear, with very great reason, lest the Fugitives should go and possess themselves of it, with a design to dispute our Passage once more: And indeed we saw Fire upon the top of a great Mountain, which they had made for a Signal to gather their scattered Troops together, and those who out of the fear they

they were in, might perhaps hide themselves for Eight Days together, had it not been for this, as believing us still at their heels: But we prevented their Design, we lay two Leagues from thence to cut off their Passage, there being no other way than this by which they might get thither, and whose sides were still less accessible the farther you went on, than they were behither the same. We had cut the Hams of Nine Hundred of their Horses before, that so they might be made unfit to pursue us: we took much about the same Number of them with us to ease our Journey, till we came at the River we were in quest of, and to kill and salt them upon our arrival, that so they might serve us for Food in that long Passage.

*They get  
to a Ri-  
ver, and  
build Pi-  
peries.*

On the 15<sup>th</sup>. we passed by the forementioned R trenchment, which was not yet finished, without any Assistance, this proceeding in all appearance from the Terror which the noise of our Victory had struck into the People, and lay at an Hatto three Leagues beyond. On the 16<sup>th</sup>. we lay at another six Leagues farther; and at last, on the 17<sup>th</sup>. which was the sixteenth day from our setting out, we came to the so much desired River, and presently entred into the Woods that grow upon the Banks thereof, where every one fell to work in good earnest to cut down Trees to build Piperies, wherein we might go down the same.

Some perhaps may think that these were some commodious Vessels, wherein to carry us with ease down the River, but there was nothing less than that in it. What we called Piperies, were four or five Stocks of one kind of Tree, which they called *Mabor*; it's a light floating sort of Wood, which, after we have taken off the Bark, we joyn and tye together, instead of Cords, with a sort of Lines that grow in these Woods, and cling like Ivy unto every thing that is near them, and especially to Trees, to the height whereof they mount; and when these Pieces are set together, they put two or three Men upon them, according to the bigness of the Pinery, and this is all the Equipment we make thereof.

The surest posture we can find our selves to be in, is to stand upright thereon, tho' they sink two or three Foot under Water; and you may judge by what follows, whether the continual apprehensions of Danger we were in, were well or ill grounded.



We built ours no bigger than to hold two Men, that they might the more easily pass between those very narrow Rocks we foresaw, by those that already presented themselves to our view, we must meet with better we got unto the Sea-side. When this pretty Flota was in a condition to put out, we dragged it to the River-side, after we had furnish'd our selves with long Poles, to keep us from being driven too violently upon the Rocks, where we were apprehensive we should be carry'd by the violence of the Stream, as it came also frequently to pass.

This River springs in the Mountains of *Segovia*, and discharges it self into the North Sea at Cape *Gracias a Dios*, after having run a very long way in a most rapid manner cross a vast number of Rocks of a prodigious bigness, and by the most frightful Precipices that can be thought of, besides a great many Falls of Water, to the Number of at least an Hundred of all sorts, which is impossible for a Man to look on without trembling, making the Head of the most fearless to turn round, when he sees and hears the Water fall from such an height into those tremendous Whirlpools. In short, the whole is so formidable, that there are none but those who have some Experience, can have right conceptions of it: But for me, who have pass'd these Places, and who, as long as I live, shall have my Mind filled with those Risques I have run, it's impossible I should give such an Idea hereof but what will come far short of what I have really known of them.

'Twas therefore upon this dangerous River that we went down, suffering our selves to be carry'd along at the will of the Stream, in these pitiful Machines, whereof the greatest part was under Water, as has been said before, two or three Foot, insomuch that we were almost always up to the middle therein: But this was nothing in comparison of the rapidity of it, which many times hurried us, in spite of all the resistance we could make, into the bubblings of foaming Water, where we now and then found our selves buried with our pieces of Wood, which made many of our Men tie themselves thereon, being in hopes, the Wood, that floated, would bear them up still upon the Water, but in this some of them were mistaken.

But

But as for those great Falls, they had, to our good Fortunes, at their entrance and goings out, a great Run of still Water, which gave us the Opportunity to get upon the Banks of the River, and draw our Pipery ashore, to take off those things we had laid on them, which, as wet as we were, we carryed with us, leaping from Rock to Rock, till we came to the end of the Fall, from whence one of us afterwards returned to put our Pipery into the Water, and let her swim along to him who waited for her below: But if he failed to catch hold (by swimming) of those pieces of Wood, before they got out of the Balon below, the violence of the Stream would carry them away to rights, and the Men must then be necessitated to go and pick out Trees to make another.

We thought at our setting out to go down the Water all together, to the end, that in case of any Accident, one might give Assistance to the other; But at the end of three days, when I knew the danger we exposed our selves to in this way of Swimming together, which had already been the occasion of our losing many Pipery, I set my self against the design of our continuing thus together, by demonstrating to all our Men; That now we had no *Spaniards* in these Parts to conflict with, but only the Difficulties of this dangerous River, it was convenient on the contrary to allow every Crew of us to advance a little before the other, and to keep as it were in a Line successively, that so in case the first were carryed (as indeed it came to pass) by the violence of the Stream upon the Rocks on the brink of the Water, whereof the River is full in an infinity of places; they might have time at least to get off before the arrival of the next Pipery, which had already wrought so much Disorder by the Wrecks that had been occasioned by their falling foul on one another, that all of us were in manifest danger of perishing.

I afterwards found, as well as several others of our People, who had made Tryal hereof, that this foresight was not useless to us; for my Pipery happening to be cast upon such a Place, I was forced to untye the pieces of Wood, and to straddle upon one piece, while my Companion did the same upon another, and so leave our selves to be carryed down in this manner at the pleasure of the Stream, till it pleased God that we should meet

meet with a Place, as we did indeed, that was not so rapid, where we could go upon the Bank of the River, which we could not have done if others had immediately followed us. I also advised, that those who went down first, should take care to set up in the most dangerous Places a Flag or Banner at the top of a long Pole, that so we might discern it afar off, not so much to give notice to those who were hindermost, that there was a Fall in such a Place, for these would make themselves to be heard almost a League off, but to signify to them what side they were to put to land, which should be that where the Flag stood. These Methods being put in practice, saved the Lives of a great many Men, though for all these Precautions, several were also lost.

The many Bananiers which we found along the Banks of this River, was almost the only Food that kept us from starving; for our Arms being continually wet, and our Powder all spoil'd, we could not possibly go a Hunting, tho' there is very good Game there; For as to the Horse-Flesh which we had salted, we were forced to throw it away in two days time, for it would not keep in the Water any longer.

These Bananiers have partly been planted by the Indians, who dwell along the sides of this River, and partly by the overflowing of the Waters, which having engg'd them along, and then left them dry, they took Root again, and so have multiplied.

Some days after we found, when we began to go down the River, some Caribets of an Indian Nation, called *Albionians*, whom we chased to get their Victuals; in these there are a multitude of others, who dwell farther from the brink thereof on the opposite side to the former, and those of the one Bank have neither War nor Commerce with those of the other.

It was in this Place that those of our Men who had lost their Money by Gaming, put their cruel Design in Execution, and where I came to know that the warning formerly given me, was too true: For these Wretches being gone before, went and hid themselves behind the Rocks that are upon the brink of this River, by which we must necessarily pass. As every Man endeavoured to save himself as well as he could, and that for the Reasons already given, we went down the River at a distance one from another, and without any mistrust, they had

*Their Food.*

*Of the Indians in these Parts.*

*The Freebooters Murder one another for their Money.*

but too much Time and Conveniency to pick out and Murder five *English-men*, whom they knew to be some of the best furnished with Booty, of which these Assassines entirely deprived them. My Companion and I found their Bodies upon the River's side; and I must freely confess, that such a Spectacle would have struck no small Terror into me, if I had been still the bearer of my winnings; I bless God with all my Heart, that inspired me with a Design to quit my Treasure, being then exposed, in going down the River as I was last after the *English*, to the Treachery of those Villains, where I must infallibly have run the same risque as they had done. None of our People knew any thing of this Murder, but when we were got all together farther down, I told them what I had seen, which was fully confirmed, as well by the absence of the dead Men, as by that of the Assassines, who durst not come and rejoin us, and whom we never saw from thence forward.

On the 20th. of *February* we found the River larger, and more spacious than before, and met with no more Falls therein; But the same was so incumbered with Trees and Bamboes, which the Floods carryed thither, that our wretched Machines could not be kept from overturning; but the depth of the Water in these Parts being a means to moderate the rapidness of it, there were not many drowned.

*The River proving good, they build Canoes.*

At last, when we were gone down some Leagues farther, we found the River very good, the Stream very gentle, and no likelihood of our meeting any more Rocks nor Trees, tho' we had still above Sixty Leagues to the Sea-side. Wherefore now finding our selves freed from those Perils and Dangers which we had been exposed to in such terrible Places, where Death in the most frightful shape presented it self continually to our view, every one began to resume fresh Courage, and conceive good hopes of the remainder of the Voyage; insomuch that being now all of us assembled together in the same Place where those who had gone before staid for them that came after, and that we had now before us how we should go quite through with the rest of our Voyage, we agreed to divide our selves into several Companies, each consisting of Sixty Men, to build Canoes

out

ous of *Mapon* Wood, which sort of Trees grow in great numbers upon the Banks of the said River.

Having with wonderful Diligence finished four Canoes by the first of *March*, for the use of an Hundred and Twenty Men that were of us in one Canton, we put them into the Water, and embarked thereon, without staying for an Hundred and Forty more, who were waiting theirs; the ardent desire we had to be as soon as possibly satisfied, whether we should really be able to reach the North Sea, egged us mightily to put on; for according to the Idea we had conceived of our Passage, we were apprehensive of being carryed back into that of the South, as not being able to think we could be so happy as to recover the sighs of a Sea by which we might be carryed home to our Native Countries, and which we had for so considerable a time longed for.

The *English*, who would not make any Canoes, had got in their Piperies before us to the Sea-side: Here they met with an *English* Boat from *Jamaica* at Anchor, whom they were very forward to press to go, and ask Leave of the Governour of that Island for their safe coming thither, because they had gone out without any Commission; but that Vessel being unwilling to go thither, without they laid down Six Thousand Pounds *Sterling* by way of Advance, and they being not in a condition to run the hazard of such a Sum, because many of them had lost their Money, as several amongst us had done, which they would have carryed with them, by the over-setting of the Piperies; they staid with the *Monstick Indians*, that dwell some Leagues to Windward of the Mouth of this River, and who are very kind to them, because of the Trinkets they bring them from *Jamaica*.

The *English* get first to the Sea-side.

Thus that Boat proving to be of no use to these *English*, they politickly bethought themselves to send us word hereof, as hoping we, in acknowledgment of this kindness, would obtain leave of the Governour of *St. Domingo* for them to retire, and be protected in that Island. This News we received by two *Monstick Indians*, whom in a Boat they sent to meet us Forty Leagues up the River, and who told us, that there should be no more than Forty Men only come down, because that ship could contain no more, by reason of the smallness of it, and its scantiness of Provision: But for all this,

the

the Hundred and Twenty that made up one of our Companies, went down together, for every one pretended to be of the number of the said Forty.

*The length  
of the Ri-  
ver.*

Though this River we are now leaving, is by some *Spanish Maps* made to run directly fourscore Leagues, and then to fall into the North Sea, yet we have computed the same to run above Three Hundred, being almost always carryed to the South-East for to go to the North.

We happily arrived on the 9<sup>th</sup>. at the Mouth of the River at Cape *Gracia de Dios*, and entred into the Sea, which with much Satisfaction we knew to be that of the North, where we were obliged to wait for the *English Ship* that was at the *Isles of Pearls*, which are a dozen Leagues distant from that Cape to the East. Here we staid till the 14<sup>th</sup>. with the *Mulasters* that live in these Parts, and who fed us for some days with Fish.

*A De-  
scription  
of Cape  
Gracia de  
Dios.*

This Cape, which stands on the Continent, hath been inhabited for a long time by these *Mulasters* and *Negroes*, both Men and Women, who have greatly multiplied there, since a *Spanish Ship*, bound from *Guinea*, freighted with their Fathers, was lost by coming too near the Shoar, which is very dangerous in these Parts. Now, those who had escaped the Shipwrack were courteously received by the *Moustick Indians* living about this Canton, who were well pleased with the loss of the Ship, and of the *Spaniards* their Enemies that were in it.

*Of the  
Indians  
of these  
Parts,  
and their  
manner of  
Living.*

Those *Indians* assigned their new Guests a place to grub up, where they built themselves Cottages in the finest Country of *Savanna's*, that reach along the River from the Mouth of it for five or six Leagues upwards. Here for their Sustenance they Plant *Mais*, *Bananiars*, and *Magniots*, which the *Indians* gave them. They also taught them to make a most Nourishing sort of Drink, which they call *Hoon*; they prepare the same of a Fruit that is produced on the top of a kind of a Palm-Tree, which grows naturally in these Woods, and never exceeds ten Foot in height: Each of these Trees bears no more than one Bunch or Grape, but most of them are a full Load for one Man: Its Grain is of the same form and thickness as an Olive; some of them are yellowish, others reddish, and containing in a very hard stone an exceeding oily Kernel: They pound the Fruit, Stone, and Kernel all together, boyling the same afterwards

wards in Water, and this makes up all the Composition: When the same is grown cold, or but lukewarm, they put what quantity they are minded to drink into a Calash pierced through with small holes like unto a Chamber: this Drink, besides that it is very Nourishing, and fattens very much, is also a pleasanter Liquor than any that is to be met with among the other Indians, the same being only peculiar to this Nation.

The *Mulasters* are all a very tall People, and go altogether naked, saving their Privy-Parts, which they cover, Nature having provided for them upon that Account a kind of greyish stuff, which they pull from a Tree, called the *Bastard-Palm*, the top of whose Stock is wrapped up in some Fathoms of it, from the first ring of its Branches some feet downwards, according to the thickness of each of these Trees: This stuff is also a great help to them to make Coverlets, wherewith to cover them in the Night; and some of those People who live more at ease, wear Shirts and Drawers, which the *English* bring them from *Jamaica*. They are the boldest People in the World for exposing themselves to the Perils of the Sea, and undoubtedly the most expert in the Art of Fishing: They will commit themselves to the Waves in these little Boats, or such like, which an able seaman will scarce venture to do, and here they will stay for three or four days together, being no more concerned, let the Weather be what it will, than if they were made of the same piece as their Boat; and provided they can but once get sight of the Fish, tho' swimming never so low in the Water, they will not fail to take him, so industrious are they at this Work.

They many times do our *Freebooters* a Kindness, when they take them on Board with them, upon Condition of letting them have a share of what Booty is taken, which must be exactly performed unto them: For if you once deceive them, you must no longer expect their Assistance; and this Temper is peculiar almost to all the *Indian Nations* in these Parts, that they will never go again, when once you have broke your Word with them.

The Ancient *Moustickes*, who gave these Men I have spoken of, Entertainment, live about ten or a dozen Leagues to Windward of Cape *Gracia à Dios*, in those Places they call *Sambay* and *Sanibey*: They are very

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slothful,



lothful, and neither Plant nor Sow but very little, and lie all day on their *Amacks*, which are a kind of moving Beds, in their *Ajonpas* or *Baracks*, while their Wives wait upon them in every thing as far as they can serve them; and when they are press'd with Hunger, they go a fishing in their Boats, at which they are also very skilful; and when they have taken any, they eat them, and go not out any more till Hunger returns upon them again.

As for their Cloathing, it's neither larger, nor more sumptuous than that of the *Mulassers* at the Cape. There are but a few amongst them that have a fixed abode; most of them being Vagabonds, and wandering along the River-side, and having no other House to shelter themselves in but a *Latanier*-leaf, which they manage so, that when the Wind drives the Rain on one side, they turn their Leaf against it, behind which they lie, and this Screens them against the Weather. When they are inclined to sleep, they dig a hole in the Sand, where they lie, and then cover themselves with it; and this they do to keep themselves from the stinging of the *Monsticks*, wherewith the Air is generally very full: They are little Flies, that are sooner seen, and have so sharp and venomous a sting, that where they alight, they seem to have fiery Darts with which to prick Men.

These poor People are so tormented with those mischievous Insects, when they see them not, that their Bodies appear like Lepers, and I can assure it for Truth, as knowing the same on my own Knowledge, that it is no small pain to be attacked with them; For besides that they caused us to lose our Rest in the Night, it was that we were forced to go naked for want of Shirts, when the troublesome of these Animals made us run into despair and such a Rage, as set us besides our selves.

When these *Indians* go a Journey, tho' never so short, they take their Wives, Children, Dogs, and Pawns, which they breed tame, all along with them: It is a Custom I have observed to be held among all the *Indian* Nations on the *Terra Firma* of *America*, and these speak of live as brutishly as any of the rest, yet they are not so Cruel and Savage, because of the Society they have with the *English*, who have no other aim than to endeavour to bring them under, and Master the Country, where they have a great many Habitations already.

On the 14<sup>th</sup>. the Vessel which I said was gone to the *Fifty of* *Iles of Pearls*, arrived at the Place where we were, and the *Free-* came scarce to an Anchor, but we all crouded to go on booters Board, because we were to draw Lots who should em- get on bark: But about Fifty of us, for all that, being more Board the vigilant than the rest, made a shift to enter her, who English thinking it unadvisable to go ashoar again, to commit Vessel. to Chance a thing we were already in Possession of, and to prevent a greater Number from entring in, we being already piled as it were on the top of one another, we weighed Anchor, and departed.

The Master would have carryed us to *Jamaica*, but we not knowing how matters stood between *France* and *England*, whether it were Peace or War, engaged him to carry us to *St. Domingo*, for Forty Pieces of Eight a Head: We went to take in Water at the *Ile of Pearls*, and on the 16<sup>th</sup>. left the same.

On the 17<sup>th</sup>. we doubled the *Island of Catalina* or *Providence*, as the *English* call it, where the *Spaniards* had formerly a very fine Fort and small Town, which were taken by the *French* and *English*, under the Colours of the last. On the 18<sup>th</sup>. we went to cross the Channel, so it blew a strong Easterly Breeze. On the 24<sup>th</sup>. we came to Land at *Los Jardinos*, which are a great many small *Islands* near unto that of *Cuba*: And on the 29<sup>th</sup>. we took in Water at *Port Portilla* (in the *Ile of Cuba*) which is not inhabited.

On the 30<sup>th</sup>. we anchored to the South South-East of the Burrough of *Baracoa*, in the same *Island*, where we surprized the Hunters belonging to that Place, whom we obliged to sell us the Victuals they had took, by giving them their own Price for it: But this our Liberality towards them proceeded from another cause, and that was, that we were uncertain whether our Nation was at Peace or War with the *Spaniards*, since we had no Intelligence here from any *French* Country how things went with them.

On the 6<sup>th</sup>. of *April* we touched at *Nippas*, which is a small Burrough on the Coast, Seven Leagues distant from *Petis Gnavis*, that so we might hear some News of our own Country while we rode at Anchor there. There were some of our People, so infatuated with the long Miseries we had suffered, that they thought of nothing else but the *Spaniards*, infomuch that when from the Deck they saw some Horsemen riding along the Sea-side,

Their ar-  
rival at  
Petit  
Guavis.

they flew to their Arms to fire upon them, as imagining they were Enemies, tho' we assured them we were now come amongst those of our own Nation.

We left this Port on the 4<sup>th</sup>. and went to Anchor in the Port of *Petit Guavis*, from whence we had departed almost four Years before, and before we came near the Fort, I went to Monsieur *Dumas* the King's Lieutenant, to require him to grant us Protection and Indemnity in the Governour Monsieur *de Cassy's* absence, by Vertue of an Amnesty the King had been pleased to send to those that made War upon the *Spaniards* since the Peace, which being concluded on since our departure, it was impossible we should come to know it in such remote Places, and where we were thought to have been entirely destroyed.

Lastly, When we were got all ashore to a People that spoke *French*, we could not forbear shedding Tears for Joy, that after we had run so many Hazards, Dangers, and Perils, it had pleased the Almighty Maker of the Earth and Seas, to grant a Deliverance, and bring us back to those of our own Nation, that at length we may return without any more ado to our own Country; Whereunto I cannot but farther add, that for my own part, I had so little hopes of ever getting back, that I could not, for the space of Fifteen Days, take my Return for any other than an Illusion, and it proceeded so far with me, that I shunned sleep, for fear when I awaked, I should find my self again in those Countries, out of which I was now safely delivered.

# A Relation of a VOYAGE

MADE BY THE

Sieur DE MONTAUBAN,

Captain of the FREEBOOTERS on the  
Coast of *Guiney*, in the Year 1695.

With a Description of the Kingdom of *Cape Lopez*,  
the Manners, Customs, and Religion of the  
Country.

*A Letter to Monsieur* ———

S I R,

A Relation of the Voyage made by Captain *Montauban*, commonly called *Montanban*, is at last come to my hands, and I have sent you the same in print: There is no doubt but you will admire, as well as I, how much his Prudence and Courage have been instrumental to deliver him from many unhappy Accidents, where another must infallibly have perish'd. You will remember as soon as you begin to read, to have seen some of his Men at *Bordeaux*, in the Year One Thousand Six Hundred Ninety and Four; from thence it was he departed the following Year to undertake the Voyage you are here presented with: He gave chase to several Ships he met with in his way; he fought with a Frigate carrying Thirty four Guns, at *Cape Verde*; he met with an *English* Ship of Twenty Guns, at *Cape St. John*, which he took after a short Fight; after which, he took a *Brandenburgh* Caper, and sailed away for *Angola*; near the Shoar he met with the *English* Guardship, being a Frigate carrying Fifty four Pieces of Cannon, this Ship he fought for Five or Six Hours, and both of them very bravely

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boarded

' boarded one another, and as he was about to make  
' himself Master of the said Ship, the *English* Captain  
' set fire to his Powder, and so both the Ships blew up  
' into the Air with a terrible crack.

' You will have the pleasure to contemplate, in the  
' Perusal of this Book, (as if you stood upon the Sea-  
' side,) this tremendous Shipwrack; as also, see how  
' the *Sieur de Montauban*, together with Fifteen or  
' Sixteen of his Men were saved. He suffered Hunger  
' for above Three Days together, and at last arrived at  
' *Cape Lopez*, from whence he went to visit the King of  
' that Country, of whose Court and Kingdom he has  
' given us here a Description: He speaks also of his Re-  
' ception, and advances a Project how to settle the Ro-  
' man Catholick Faith in those Parts: He stood for Sure-  
' ty at the baptizing of a Son of Prince *Thomas*, the  
' foresaid King's Son. He went on board a *Portuguese*  
' Ship, in order to his Passage to *Europe*; An *English*  
' Man that was his Friend, took him aboard his Vessel,  
' and carried him to *Barbadoes*, where he was confined  
' to his Chamber by Colonel *Russel* who was Governour  
' of those Islands: He was freed from thence, and went  
' to *Martinico*, where he saw Monsieur de *Frontenac*,  
' General of the *French* Islands. From thence he got  
' into *France*, being very uncertain whether he shall re-  
' turn to Sea again. But, Sir, all these Adventures are  
' set forth in so natural and easie a Style, that you cannot  
' but infallibly observe the Sincerity and Generosity of the  
' Author. It's true, our Seafaring Men are not so polite  
' as those that live ashore, and that proceeds for want of  
' Society and Conversation; but to make amends for that,  
' they are an hundred fold more sincere than the other.  
' And thus, Sir, do not think a Seafaring Man will im-  
' pose upon you; for my self, I have several times heard  
' *Montauban* in Person give a Relation of this same  
' Voyage, but I could never observe that he vary'd in  
' any one thing at any time; and the free and generous  
' Air wherewith he deliver'd those brave Actions he has  
' performed in Fight, would perswade you of the Truth  
' of what he hath related. It's not for any Ostenta-  
' tion that he has written this Account; he has in the  
' very beginning thereof declared openly enough, that  
' he had no other End in doing it, than to give a Mini-  
' ster of State an Account (as he calls it) of his Cam-  
'

pagne.

pagne. In short, if you are dubious in respect to the Fight where the *Sieur de Montauban* was Shipwrecked, you may recollect your self, and find you have read the same in the *Gazettes* of September and October this present Year. I am,

S I R,

Your most humble and most obedient Servant,

B—

*A Relation of a Voyage made by the Sieur de Montauban, Captain of the Freebooters, on the Coast of Guiney, in the Year 1695.*

SINCE I have so often felt the malignant Influences of those Stars that preside over the Seas, and by an adverse Fortune lost all that Wealth which with so much Care and Trouble I had amassed together, I should take no manner of pleasure in this place to call to mind the Misfortunes that beset me before the Conclusion of the last Campagne, had not a desire of serving still both the publick and particular Persons, as well as to let His Majesty know the Affection and Weddedness I have always had for his Service, made me take Pen in hand to give Monsieur de *Phelipeaux* an Account of such Observations as I have made; wherein he may also find with what eagerness I have penetrated to the remotest Colonies of our Enemies, in order to destroy them and ruin their Trade.

I was not willing to swell up this Relation with an Account of all the Voyages I have made, and all the particular Adventures that have befallen me on the Coasts of *New Spain*, *Cartagena*, *Mexico*, *Florida*, and *Cape Verd*, which last Place I had been at Twenty Years ago, having begun to use the Seas at the Age of Sixteen.

I could also have added hereunto the Campaign I have made in One Thousand Six Hundred Ninety and One, when being Commander of the Ship called the *Machine*, I ravaged the Coasts of *Guiney*, entred into the great River *Serelion*, and took a Fort from the Eng-

*lish*, where they had Four and twenty Pieces of Cannon; which I caused to be split, that they might be of no farther use unto them.

But I am desirous to confine my self to give an Account of my last Voyage, because it is the nearest; and that which is yet fresh in the Memory of the Publick, Notice and some Information having been given thereof by the Notice made in *France* and elsewhere, of the burning of my Ship, and the terrible Crack it made in the Air.

In the Year One Thousand Six Hundred and Ninety Four, after I had ravaged the Coast of *Caragua*, I went up to Windward towards *St. Croix*, where I understood that there were some Merchant Ships, with a Convoy, to come from *Barbadoes* and *Nevis*, and bound for *England*; and upon the same Information I resolved to sail up to the height of the *Bermudos*, hoping to take this small Fleet, and so to make a good Booty of it. I was scarce got thither, but that I saw them appear, and sailing directly towards me, without any Apprehensions of Danger upon them. But I presently attack'd their Convoy, called the *Wolf*, and took her, with Two more of the Merchant Ships laden with Sugar, the rest having made their Escape during the Fight. As I was carrying my Prize into *France*, I met with another *English* Ship of Sixteen Guns, coming from *Spain*, and bound also for *England*, that after a short Fight struck, and which I carried to *Rochel*, where the Admiralty adjudged the same to be good Prize. When I had sold this Ship, I carried my Three other Vessels to *Bourdeaux*, where I arrived in *September*, One Thousand Six Hundred Ninety and Four; and these last also being condemned as good Prizes, I made it my Business presently to find out Merchants that would buy them.

In the mean time, my *Freebooters*, who had not seen *France* in a long time, finding themselves now in a great City, where Pleasure and Plenty reigned, were not backward to refresh themselves after the Fatigues they had endured while so long absent from their native Country. They spent a world of Money here, and proved horribly Extravagant. The Merchants, and their Hosts, made no Scruple to advance them Money, or lend them as much as they pleased, upon the Reputation of their Wealth, and the Noise there was throughout the City

of



of the valuable Prizes whereof they had a share: All the Nights they spent in such Divertisements as pleased them best, and the Days in running up and down the Town in Masquerade, causing themselves to be carried in Chairs, with lighted Flambeaux's at Noon Day; of which Debauches some died, while Four of my Crew fairly deserted me: So that now seeing I lost my Men, notwithstanding all the Care I had taken, and strict Injunctions I had laid upon them, I thought it advisable for me to be gone from thence as soon as I could, that I might keep the rest together.

In the first place I supplied the room of those whom I had lost, with as many *Bourdeaux* young Men, who in a short time became as expert as the old ones; for you are to observe, I made it my continual Care and Business to teach my Men to shoot, and my so frequent exercising of them, rendered them in a short time as capable of Shooting and handling their Arms as the oldest Sea Freebooters, or the best Fowlers by Land.

When I had revictualled my Ship, that carried no more than Thirty four Pieces of Cannon, I left *Bourdeaux*, in the Month of *February*, in the Year One Thousand Six Hundred Ninety and Five, with an Intention to go and cruise on the Coast of *Guiney* in *Africa*. I got up to the *Azores*, which are Thirty seven Degrees North Latitude, and cruised thereabouts for the space of Eight Days, without any Purchase: From thence I passed to the Canary Islands, which are in Twenty five Degrees North Latitude: We discovered the Peak of *Tenariff* a great way off, which they say is the highest Mountain in the World. They report these Mountains had their Names from *Dogs*, which the *Latins* call *Canis*, and which the *Portuguese* found here in great Numbers upon their first Arrival. I cruised round about them for Fourteen Days, in expectation of meeting with some *Dutch* Ships which I was informed were to come that way; and it proved to be really so: For the said Ships came thither, but they got into Port before I could reach them; and this made me sail away for the *White Cape*, and the Isles of *Cape Verd*, that are between Fourteen and Eighteen Degrees North Latitude. Upon my Arrival there, I found Two *English* Ships lying at Anchor in the Road of the Isle of *May*, which made me put out my Shallop to know what they were, and the same

same informed me that they were Two Interlopers, carrying about Thirty Guns each. I resolved to board and take them; to this end I lay by to come near them, but as we bore upon one of the Points of this Island, these Ships did not think fit to tarry for my coming up; but smelling my Design, they made all ready, and left their Cables and Anchors in the Road, at which their Shallops lay.

I pursued them all Day, but Night coming on, I lost sight of them, and returned to the Road from whence they were gone, in order to take away the Cables and Anchors, and to sink the Shallops fastened by them. When I had so done, I sailed away for the Isle of *St. Vincent*, to caulker my Vessel in that Place, and to take in Water and Wood. This Island also is one of those of *Cape Verd*. Here I stay'd for the space of Eight Days, at the end whereof, understanding by a *Portuguese* Bark, that there were Two *English* Ships, carrying from Twenty to Thirty Guns, at the Isle of *Fogo*, one of which was refitting there, because of a Fight she had been engaged in with some other Ship, I presently weigh'd Anchor, and sailed away for the said Island, which is not far distant from that of *St. Vincent*, being in hopes to meet with the Enemy in that Place: But upon my Arrival, I understood by a *Portuguese*, that they were gone away, Four or Five Days before, in the Night, without saying any thing of the Place whither they were bound, from the said Island of *Fogo*, or *Fire-Island*. I thereupon steered my course for the Coast of *Guiney*, and first discovered the Cape of *Three Points*, where I met with the Guardship, which was a *Dutch* Frigate, carrying Thirty four Guns, and cruised out at Sea. She quickly discovered me, and made directly towards me, in order to know what I was: As I had also on my part perceived her, and was in hopes to come close and fight her, I hung up *Dutch* Colours, that I might not frighten her away, but give her an Opportunity to come up within Cannon-shot of me. When I saw her near enough, I put up *French* Colours, and gave her a Signal to strike, but instead thereof, she, without any more ado, very bravely gave me a Broad-side, and at the same time received one from me. We continued to fight one another, in this manner, from Morning till Four in the Afternoon, without my being able

able to get the Weathergage, nor come up near enough unto her, to make use, to any purpose, of my Fusils, which are the chief Arms in such Ships as ours be; nor to hinder her by the Favour of the Wind which she had of me, to go and Anchor under the Fort of the *Cape of Three Points*, where there were Two *Dutch* Ships more fitted out for Men of War, one whereof carried Fourteen and the other Twenty eight Pieces of Cannon. I presently thought these Three Ships had joined together, in order to come out to fight me, which made me lie by thereabouts, for a whole Day, in expectation of them. I anchored also within a League of the Shoar, hoping at length, that they, being spighted at my insulting of them in this manner, would be eager for Revenge: But all this to no purpose; and in all Appearance, the Guardship had already found her self so ill treated, that she had no occasion for a second Fight. A small *Portuguese* Ship that passed by soon after, told me, these Ships were the same that had forced the *Sieur Rey*, Captain of the King's Flute, called the *Deep*, to leave that Coast; which also was confirmed afterwards unto me by the *Sieur Rey* himself, at the *Prince's Island*, where I met him.

Seeing therefore that the Enemy would not fight, and considering with my self it was not advisable for me to attack them under the Cannon of the Fort, I resolved to go to *Cape Lopez*, and to *Prince* and *St. Thomas Isles*: In my Passage I discovered *Cape St. John* that stands on the Continent of *Guiney*, as well as the *Cape of Three Points*, and I happened to meet with an *English* Ship of Twenty Guns, that had Three hundred and Fifty Negro's, Elephants Teeth, and Wax on board it, which did not cost me much pains to take her. The Captain told me he was come from *Ardra*, where he had taken Five hundred and fifty Negro's on board, but that they had slain some of them, because they had mutined against his Ship's Crew, and that some more of them had made their Escape to Land in his Shallop which they secretly stole from him. *Ardra* is one of the principal Towns in *Guiney*, standing upon the Sea-side, and the usual Residence of a Prince who governs a great Country in this Part of the World.

From thence I went to *Prince's Isle*, in sight whereof I took a small *Brandenburgh* Caper, mounted with  
Eight

Eight Pieces of Cannon, and carrying Sixty Men. She cruised about this Latitude, and took all the Barks she could light on, without distinction of Nation or Colours. When I had done this, I went into the Port, in order to clean my Ship, which was foul enough, and that I might clear my self of the *English* Prize I had taken. I sent her away to *St. Domingo*, in *America*, to have the same condemned, under the Command of the *Sieur de Nave*, and a sufficient Number of Men in her, whom I picked out of my own Crew. But some time after, I understood she was retaken by some *English* Men of War that were before *Little Goara*.

In the mean time, that my Men might not be idle, I gave my Officers Orders to see my Ship careened, while I my self with the *Brandenburgh* Caper which I had taken, and Ninety Men whom I put on board her, went out to cruise, and continued at it for Six Weeks, upon the Coast of *Guiney*, or about the *Prince's* and *St. Omer's* Islands, without meeting any Enemy. Whereupon I return'd back into the Road of the first of these Isles, where I revictualled my Ship as soon as possibly I could; and when all things were ready, I weigh'd Anchor, and sailed directly for the Isle of *St. Thomas*, there either to sell, or truck the Caper I had taken, which last I chose to do for some Provisions, because I had not enough to go and cruise long upon the Coasts of *Angola*, whither I had resolved to go and spend Five or Six Months, in order to avoid the *English* Ships they were fitting out at the same Town of *Guiney*, which consisted of Three Men of War, and a Fireship, and were designed to go in quest of me, cruising about *St. Thomas*, where they thought I should continue.

As I left *St. Thomas*, I saw a Ship at Anchor, sailed towards her, and gave her chase a long time; but I could not prevent her getting to land at the Isle of *St. Omer*, and staving to pieces in striving to take her; I lost an Hundred and fifty Pounds of Gold Dust which this *Dutch* Interloper had got in trading on this Coast.

This being over, I sailed for the Coasts of *Angola*, which is Two hundred and fifty Leagues on the other side of the Line: There I arrived on the Twenty second of *September*, and understood, when I came within Three Leagues of the Port of *Cabinda*, that there were

Two

Two *English* Ships with Negro's on board in that Place; As I was to Leeward of that Port, I bore out to Sea, in hopes next Day to have a South-West Wind that usually blows from the Seaward, to help to recover the Port. When Day appeared, I saw a Ship under *English* Colours bearing upon me, whom I did not presently take to be a Man of War. But some time after, I discovered she carried no less than Four and fifty Guns. I used all the Art I could to amuse her, and for that end, I hung out *Dutch* Colours, that I might also the more easily come near her, while she on her part was not backward to amuse me, and by the Guns she fired from time to time to assure me of her Friendship, endeavoured to come up with me. When I perceived my Enemy's Design, I took upon me to make a shew of waiting for him, and sailed but very slowly, that I might make him believe my Ship was heavy laden, or that I was incumbered for want of Sails and Hands. We kept in this manner, from Break of Day till Ten in the Forenoon. He gave me a Gun, from time to time, without Ball, to assure me what he was, and as he supposed my Friend; but finding at last I did not answer him, on my part, in the same manner, and that we were now within Cannon-shot of one another, he gave me one again with Ball, which made me presently put up *French* Colours, and answer him with another. Hereupon the *English* Captain, without any more ado, gave me Two Broadsides, which I received without returning him one again, tho' he had killed me Seven Men; for I was in hopes, if I could have got somewhat nearer to him, to put him out of Condition ever to get away from me: I endeavoured to come within a Fusil-shot of him, and was desirous to give him an Opportunity to shew his Courage, in boarding me, since I could not so well do the same by him, as being to Leeward. At last, being come by degrees nearer, and found him within the reach of my Fusils, which for that end I kept concealed upon the Deck from his sight, they were discharged upon him, and my Men continued to make so great a Fire with them, that the Enemy on their part began quickly to flag.

In the mean time, as their Ship's Crew consisted of above Three hundred Men, and that they saw their Cannon could not do their Work for them, they resolved

to board us; which they did, with a great Shout, and terrible Threatnings of giving no Quarter, if we did not surrender. Their grappling Irons failing to catch the Stern of my Ship, made theirs run in such a manner, that their Stern run upon my Boltsprit, and broke it. Having observed my Enemy thus incumbered, my Men plied them briskly with their Small-shot, and made so terrible a Fire upon them, for an Hour and an half, that being unable to resist any longer, and having lost a great many Men, they left the Sport, and ran down between Decks, and I saw them presently after make Signals with their Hats of crying out for Quarter. I caused my Men thereupon to give over their firing, and commanded the *English* to embark in their Shallops, and come on board of me, while I made some of my Crew at the same time leap into the Enemies Ship, and sieze her, and so prevent any Surprize from them. I already rejoiced within my self for the taking of such a considerable Prize, and so much the more, in that I hoped, that after having taken this Vessel that was the Guardship of *Angola*, and the largest the *English* had in those Seas, I should find my self in a Condition still to take better Prizes, and attack any Man of War I should meet with. My Ship's Crew were also as joyful as my self and did the Work they were engaged in with a great deal of pleasure; but the Enemy's Powder suddenly taking fire, by the means of a Match the Captain had left burning of purpose; as hoping he might escape with his Two Shallops, blew both the Ships into the Air, and made the most terrible Crack that was ever heard. It's impossible to set forth this horrid Spectacle to the Life; the Spectators were themselves the Actors of this bloody Scene, not knowing whether they saw or saw it not, and not being able to judge of that which themselves felt. Wherefore leaving the Reader to imagine the Horror which the blowing up of two Ships above Two hundred Fathom into the Air must work in us; where there was formed as it were a Mountain of Water, Fire, wrack of the Ships, Cordages, Cannon, Men, with a most terrible Clap made, what with the Cannon that went off in the Air, and the Waves of the Sea that were tossed up thither; to which we may add the crackling of Masts and Boards, the rending of the Sails and Ropes, the Cries of Men, and the Breaking of Bones:

I say,

I say, leaving these things to the Imagination of the Reader, I shall only take notice of what befel my self, and by what good Fortune it was that I escaped.

When the Fire first began, I was upon the fore Deck of my own Ship, where I gave the necessary Orders; now I was carried up upon part of the said Deck so high, that I fancy it was the height alone that prevented my being involved in the Wreck of the Ship, where I must have infallibly perish'd, and being cut into a Thousand pieces, I fell back into the Sea (you may be sure) giddy headed enough, and continued a long time under Water without being able to get up to the Surface of it. At last, falling into a Debate with the Water, as a Person who was afraid of being drowned, I got upon the face of it, and laid hold of a broken piece of a Mast that I found near me. I called to some of my Men who I saw swimming round about me, and exhorted them to take Courage, hoping we might yet save our Lives if we could alight upon any one of our Shallops. But what yet afflicted me more than my very Misfortune, was, to see Two half Bodies who had still somewhat of Life remaining in them, from time to time mount up to the face of the Water, and leave the place where they appeared all dyed with Blood. It was also much the same thing, to see round about me a vast number of Members and scattered Parts of Mens Bodies, and most of them spitted upon Splinters of Wood. At last, one of my Men having met with a whole Shallop among all that Wreck that swam up and down upon the Water, came to tell me that we must endeavour to stop some Holes therein, and to take out the Canoe that lay on board her: We got to the number of Fifteen or Sixteen of us who had escaped, near unto this Shallop, every Man upon his piece of Wood, and took the pains to loosen our Canoe, which at length we effected. We went all on board her, and after we had got in, saved our chief Gunner who in the Fight had had his Leg broke. We took up Three or Four Oars, or pieces of Boards which served us for that purpose; and when we had done that, we sought out for something to make us a Sail, and a little Mast; and having fitted up all things as well as possibly we could, we committed our selves to the Divine Providence who alone could give us Life and Deliverance.

As



As soon as I had done working, I found my self all over besmeared with Blood, that ran from a Wound I had received in my Head at the time of my fall; we made some Lint out of my Handkerchief, and a Fillet to bind it withal out of my Shirt, after I had first washed the Wound with Urine: The same thing was done to the rest that had been wounded, and our Shallop in the mean while sailed along, without making Land, or our knowing where we were going: And what was still more sad, was, that we had no Visuals, and we had already spent three days without either eating or drinking. One of our Men being greatly afflicted both with Hunger and Thirst at the same time, drunk so much Salt Water, that he died of it: Most of our Men vomited continually, whether it were that they were incommoded with the Water that got into them when they fell into the Sea, as it will happen if they drink of it out of meer Necessity. As for my self, I was incommoded for a long time: I afterwards swelled up mightily, and my Excrements came from me in the form of small Buttons; and I attribute to a Quartan Ague, that seized on me soon after, the Cure of my Dropsie, and Recovery of my Health, that by degrees returned to me: I make no enumeration of the other Inconveniencies which so dangerous a Fall brought upon me, such being unavoidable to a Man that fell into so great a Fire: All my Hair, Face, and one side of me were burnt with the Powder; and the same Fate attended me, as usually does Bombardiers at Sea, and that was, to bleed at the Nose, Ears, and Mouth. I do not know whether this be the effect of the Powder or no, by swelling up those Vessels which contain the Blood in our Bodies, to such an extraordinary degree, that the ends of the Veins open and let it out; or that the great noise, and violent motion that is wrought in those Organs, makes the same happen. But let it come which way it will, since there is no room here for a Consultation of Physicians, as long as we were dying of Hunger, nor to enquire what became of the *English*, when we had so much difficulty, and hardly could save our selves, we continued our Course up the Current with the help of our Oars, because we knew the same came from the Port of *Cabinda*: But as the Wind was against us, we could never get thither, and were forced

to be satisfied to get to the Cape of *Corfa* if we could, which stands a dozen Leagues from that of *Catherina*, where we could not Land because of a Bar, that renders the Coast unaccessible. That was our Design, but Hunger hindred us to put the same in Execution, and we were forced even to overcome the Obstacles which Nature laid in our way, by running ashore in spite of the Bay: This we performed at last (after much difficulty) being in hopes to find there some Negroes that might furnish us with Victuals. One of our Company presently landed, in order to go and seek out somewhat to satisfy our Hunger; and by good Fortune found in a Pond sticking to the Branches of Trees, some Oysters, whereof he came presently to give us notice. We went all up to the very Pond along a Channel of the Sea, where we were no sooner come, but we eat lustily of the Oysters with a very good Appetite: We opened them with the few Knives we found in our Pockets, lending the same from one to another very charitably and readily. When we had spent two days in that Place, I divided my Men into three small Companies, and sent them up into the Country to seek for Victuals and Houses, with Orders to return again in the Evening to the Shallop: I went out my self also as the rest did; but we could find neither any House, nor the least sign of any Men in those Parts. All that we could see were great Herds of Bufflers, as large as Oxen, who fled so fast from us, that we could not possibly come near them: Wherefore having spent all the Day in this manner, and got nothing, we returned to our Shallop to eat Oysters again, and resolved next day to leave this Place, and go to Cape *Corfa*, to Leeward of which there is a large Port, where Ships that sail that way put in to furnish themselves with Water and Wood. The Negroes that live in the Country having notice of the coming in of Ships by the firing of Cannon, come thither also with provisions, and Barter the same for Brandy, Knives, and Hatchets. They are forced to live remote from the Sea, because all that Coast is very Marshy. As soon as we were got to the said Cape, we heard a great noise, made by the Negroes, who came thither to sell Wood to the Ships that lay at Anchor in the Port: I looked amongst them, to see if I could find any one whom I knew, for they had often brought me some Wood, and other

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Refreshments in the course of my former Voyages, I was in hopes to find some or other that would know me again: But tho' I knew several of them, it was impossible for me to perswade any of them that I was Captain *Montauban*, so much was I disfigured with my late Misfortune; and all of them took me for a Man that would impose the belief of it upon them: I thought fit to tell them in their own Language, whereof I understood a little, that I was ready to die with Famine, and prayed them to give me somewhat to eat, but it signified nothing; so I desired them to carry me to Prince *Thomas*, who is Son to the King of that Country, as hoping he might call to mind the favours I had formerly shewed him.

I carried all my Company with me to that Prince; we were first brought to the Dwellings of those Negroes, where they began to be a little more tractable, and gave us some Bananiers to eat, which are a sort of Figs longer than a Man's Hand. Next day we got to the Prince's Habitation, but I was in so pitiful a Condition, that I could never by the signs I gave, make him know me, tho' I spoke to him in his own Language, as also in the *Portuguese* Tongue, which he understood very well. It fortun'd one day that going together to bath ourselves, he saw a Scar upon my Thigh, that was the effect of a Wound I had received with a Musquet-ball; he told me that he must immediately know, whether I was Captain *Montauban* or no; and that if I were not the Man, he would cut off my Head: He asked if ever I had a Scar with a Musquet-shot in my Thigh, which when I had shewed him, he presently embraced me, and said, he was exceeding sorry to see me in that Condition, and immediately caused Victuals to be distributed among my Men, and divided them into several Habitations, with strict Orders to the Negroes, with whom they were quartered, to take the greatest care they could of them. As for me, he kept me with himself, and made me always eat at his own Table: When I was a little brought into Order, he said, he would carry me to see the King his Father, who lived five or six Leagues off, that is, about ten or a dozen from the Sea-side. I let him know how great the Favour and Honour was he did me, and prayed him at the same time that I might have the Liberty to let my *Freebooters* go along with

with me, and grant us some Pieces of Stuffs, to put our selves in as good Equipage as we could, in order to appear before so great a Prince; all which he allowed me, and three days after, we went all together in a great Canoe, and passed up the River of *Cape Lopez*, because the Country is so full of Marshes, that you cannot go by Land.

Being arrived at the King's Habitation, which is a Village consisting of Three Hundred Booths, covered with Palm-leaves, wherein the King keeps his Wives, Family, Relations, and some other Negro Families, whom he loves best; I was lodged in Prince *Thomas* his House, and all my Men were distributed into other Habitations. We found all the People in great Lamentation, because the Chief of their Religion, whom they call *Papa*, had died that day, when they were to begin the Funeral Obsequies, which were usually to last for seven days for Priests of that Quality. This same Person was had in great Esteem and Veneration by all the People, they looking upon him to be an Holy Man. As the King is in Mourning, and sees no body all the while that this Funeral Ceremony lasts; Prince *Thomas* bid me have patience, and not to go out of my Lodgings for to see the King, because that was the Custom of his Nation.

However, I could not forbear going to see the Funeral Solemnity, where I saw nothing else but a great Concourse of People standing round the dead Corpse. I was in the mean time very well fed by Prince *Thomas* his Orders, who was gone to see his Father: They did not let me want Bananiers, Elephants Flesh, and River Fish, tho' all of it came without either Bread or Wine, as you may well suppose. My Men were treated in the same manner in their respective Quarters all the time we laid there.

At the Eight Days end, Prince *Thomas* came, in order to carry us before the King: He is a large Negro, well enough made, and about Fifty Years old, who, to do the greater Honour, according to the Relation given me to him by his Son, came out of his House to receive me, and advanced some steps to meet me. He was supported by four or five Women, which gave him a kind of an Air of Grandeur in a very cumbersome and stastick manner: He was guarded by several Negroes,

who were armed with Lances and Fusils, which they discharged from time to time with no great Order: There were several Trumpets and Drums marched before him, at the Head of which Company there were also several Standards carryed, alike in colour to those used in *Holland*. He had no other Cloaths than a piece of Cotton Stuff, streaked with white and blue, where-with part of his Body was covered, the same being several times folded round about him.

He gave me many Demonstrations of his Friendship, he also stretched out his Hand to me, saying, it was the first time he had ever done so to any Man before me. Being come to his House, he sat at his Door, and made me take Place on the one side of him, as his Son did on the other. He asked me several Questions concerning the Greatness and Power of the King my Master; and when I had told him, that he alone waged War against the *English* and *Dutch*, whom himself knew, as having seen them often at the Cape of *Lopez*, that he also-warred against the *Germans* and *Spaniards*, who were more Potent Nations than the *English* and *Dutch*; He told me, he was pleased with my Account, and that he would drink the King of *France's* Health. Presently they brought him some Palm-Wine, which is not unpleasant to drink, and his Wives served him in a great Crystal Glass. As soon as he began to take the Glass, the Negro Men and Women lifted up the Right Arm, and held the same in that posture very silently till he had done drinking: But when it was over, they made a great noise with their Trumpets and Drums, and discharged all their Musquets, or I should have rather said, Fusils.

Prince *Thomas* then asked me what the King of *France's* Name was, and having told him, *Louis le Grand*, he said he had a mind I should hold a Child of his, of about Seven or Eight Months old, to Baptism, and that I should give him the Name of *Louis le Grand*, which made me smile a little at the Humour. He told me also, that the first Voyage I should make into his Country, he would give the Child to carry to *France* for a Present for the King, to whose Service he devoted him, being very desirous he should be brought up according to the Custom of the Country, and Count of so great a Prince. I also promised on my part, that the first time I came to the Coast of *Guinea*, I should

not fail to come and put him in mind of his Promise, that so, upon my Return into *France*, I might be capable of making the greatest Present that could be unto the King, in presenting him with the Son of Prince *Thomas*. And assure him, said the same Prince, that I am his Friend, and that if he has occasion for my Services, I'll go my self into *France* with all the Lances and Fusils belonging to the King my Father, which was as much as to say, with all the Force of the Kingdom. The King presently pursued the Discourse, and assured me he would go thither in Person, if there was need for it; and with that, all the Negro Men and Women raised such a Shout as much surprized me; and this was scarce over, when the Fusileers made a general Discharge of their Arms, the Trumpets and Drums went to it again, and those who carried the Lances set themselves running from one side to another with such horrible Outcries as frightened me. I was really ignorant of the meaning of all this, and could not be satisfied till I saw the King drink the *French King's* Health a second time, with the same Ceremonies as at first. Prince *Thomas* drank it also, and all of us were commanded to do the same. This being over, the King ordered Two Wax Cakes to be brought, whereof he made me a Present, desiring me to accept of them as a Token of his Friendship, and then he went into his House.

The Audience being thus over, Prince *Thomas* carried me along with him into all the Parts of the Village whither he went to visit his Friends, and we went the succeeding Days to see several other Villages that are scattered up and down the Country at about Five Leagues distance from each other.

These People, the greatest part of whom had never been at the Sea-side, and consequently had not seen any White People, ran from all Quarters to see us, and brought us more Fruit, with Bufflers and Elephants Flesh, than we could eat. As for the Elephants of this Country, they are not altogether like unto those in the *East-Indies*, whereof they are a different Species, as are also those of *Cafala*, near *Zanguebar*, on the Eastern Coasts of *Aethiopia*: The Negro's eat of their Flesh with a good Appetite, and like the same better than any other; whereof they provide their best Feasts, and those who were minded to honour us most, brought it unto us

instead of that of Bufflers which I prefer much before it.

As they were not able to comprehend the Difference there was between the Colour of their Faces and ours, they would frequently put their Hands upon our Faces to see if the white Colour would go off; and it was the Fortune of many of us, to meet with Hands scrubbed with Knives, so as that many times we were hurt with them, which yet we durst not complain of. Prince *Thomas*, when he saw that, commanded all his Attendance: that they should suffer none to come to rub and scrape us with their Fingers in that manner, and spoke aloud to all the People that came to see us, that all Strangers were White as we were; and that if the Negro's went into another Country, they would seem to be as odd coloured there as we were in *Guiney*. He laughed also from time to time to see the People run in that Fashion after us, as if we had been some unknown Animal; And I am not certain whether he were sorry to see us thus incommoded with the Importunities of those Negro's, or that he took some pleasure to see the Folly of his Country Men, as I have done many a time, to behold all their extravagant Humours.

At last, after a Journey and Diversion together of Three Days, the Prince brought me back by another way to take my Leave of his Father: The King caressed me a thousand times, after a most obliging manner, according to the Custom of his Country, and made me promise I should give him a Visit the first time I returned into *Guiney*. Then we embarked in our Canoes, and next Day, came to Prince *Thomas* his Village, where he continued to treat us after the manner he had been used to do. Here he spake to me again, that he would have me stand Witness for his Son at his Baptism, which I did with so much the more pleasure in that I was helpful to make a Christian, and sanctify a Soul.

But as I was dubious whether the Priest of the Town knew how to baptize the Child, or that he could remember the Words he ought to say at the Administration of that Sacrament, I desired the Prince to send for a Priest out of one of the *Portuguese* Ships, which he presently did, to *Cape Lopez*: So that one came from thence in Two Days time. The *Portuguese* were the People that brought the Christian Religion first into these Countries.



It's true, they have not kept the same up there as they ought to have done ; but the Difficulties that obstruct that good Establishment, proceeds, without doubt, from hence, that Men must dwell in a Country that is no better than Savage, where the Air and their Victuals are not so agreeable to Strangers. To give Religion a sure footing in these Regions, it's necessary that the *Europeans* have fixed Habitations, or build Towns there ; that they instruct the Negro's in the Truths of the Christian Faith, and that they send out Missionaries from time to time among these poor Wretches. This might very easily be done, because these People are very docible, and readily apprehend the Truths which you would teach them, as having lived without any Faith at all or any Idea of another Religion, for a long time. These Negro's being once become Christians, you might make Priests amongst them of their own Nation, who might be furnished with Books for the Ceremonies of the Church, and a Catechism for the Rule of their Faith, until they were capable to read the *New Testament*. It is necessary also, that a Bishop were constituted in this Town, who should take care to send Priests to the Dwellings of the Negro's, up and down the Countries, and to build Oratories in the most populous Places. The Christian Religion might in this manner be settled in *Guiney*, and so become less subject to be ruined by the Wars which Strangers make there. The Christians also who dwell in the Kingdoms of *Fesi* and *Marocco* might be reformed, and a Correspondence settled between the Priests of that Nation and those of *Guiney*, that so they might be assisting to one another, for the keeping up of Religion on all the Coasts of *Africa*. It was in a manner not unlike unto this, that Christianity establish'd it self among the *Gentiles*, who were an hundred fold more averse to our Faith, than the Negro's of *Guiney*. The Priests of this Country are for the most part no Priests at all, as having never been Ordained by any Bishop, and constituted themselves in the room of those that were deceased in their Country. And thus it is that they have nothing in a manner that savours of Christianity, tho' they have Ceremonies enough, and some appearance of a Sacrifice.

But to return to our Baptism : The *Portuguese* Priest being come, Prince *Thomas* his Son was baptized, and

named *Lewis le Grand*, in pursuance to the Intention of his Father: A Negro Woman, and one of his Relations served as Godmother, and I for Godfather. I was told this Lady was called *Antonia*, and that she had been thus named by the Wife of a *Portuguese* Captain at her Baptism.

Two or Three Days after this Ceremony was over, which was performed with all the Magnificence the Negro's were capable of, Prince *Thomas* his Guards which he kept at *Cape de Lopez* to give him notice of the Arrival of any Ships, came to tell him there was an *English* Ship come thither. I desired him to let me go on board her, that I might return to my own Country, to free my self from those many Inconveniences I still laboured under. But he would not have me commit my self into the hands of mine Enemies, and desired me to have a little Patience till the Arrival of some *Portuguese* Ships with which he would let me go. In the mean time the Prince went to *Cape Lopez*, there to exchange Elephants Teeth, Bees-wax, and Negro's, for Iron, Arms, and Brandy, and returned from thence in Ten or Twelve Days.

He told me, when he came back, that there was a *Portuguese* Ship come to Anchor at *Cape de Lopez*, and that I should go down in his Canoe in order to go on board her; that he had recommended me to the Captain, and that I should want nothing that was necessary for my Voyage into *Europe*.

I presently gathered my Men together, except Two whom I did not think fit to wait for; for they were gone up into the Country Five or Six Days before, and I knew not where to find them. We therefore embark'd on board this Prince's Canoes, after I had taken my leave of him; and upon our Arrival at *Cape Lopez*, I found the *Portuguese* Commander to be one of my Friends, with whom I had contracted Acquaintance at the Isle of *St. Thomas*. I went on board him, and three days after, we anchored at the said Island, the Governour whereof shewed me and my Men a Thousand Civilities during a Month's space that we were forced to tarry in that Port. At the expiration of that time came in an *English* Ship, that had been out upon the *Gold-Coast*: I made Acquaintance with the Captain, and we grew to be such Friends, that I thought my self oblig'd in Honour to accept of the Offers he made me: He pray'd me to go on board his Ship, and assured me I should

should find all the help imaginable at *Barbadoes*, whether he was bound, because there were very good *Jewish* Physicians in that Island of his Acquaintance. I embarked therefore on his Ship, with all my Men, notwithstanding all the Reasons given me by the Governour of the Island, to make me suspicious of the *English-man*, who was undoubtedly as honest a Man as any of his Country: He was so civil as to give me his own Cabin, with all the Pleasure and Diverſion he could think of, for the ſolacing of my Spirits, under the Afflictions I had from time to time endured.

Ten days after our departure from *St. Thomas*, a blaſt of Wind unhappily made us loſe our Rudder, in the room whereof we were forced to ſet up a ſpare Top-Maſt, and this proved very detrimental to our Voyage, which laſted no leſs than three Months.

Proviſions began to be ſcarce before our Arrival at *Barbadoes*, ſo that when we came there, we had no more than what would have ſerved us for three days longer, inſomuch that the Captain being concerned that he had taken our Men on Board, ordered our Allowance to be leſſened three fourths of what it ſhould be. When we were got to Port, the Captain went to wait upon Colonel *Ruſſel*, who is General there, related to him my whole Adventure with the Guardſhip of *Angola*, and was much blamed for bringing me to *Barbadoes*. When the Captain returned on board his Ship, he told me what the Governour had ſaid, who had forbid him upon pain of Death, to let me go aſhoar: However, he ſaid nothing to me of this Prohibition, but contented himſelf with only deſiring me not go aſhoar, that it might create no Suspicion in the Governour; which I promiſed exactly to perform, having no great Concern upon me of ſeeing a Place again, that I had known ſo long ago, and being unwilling to create my Captain any Trouble.

Next day, ſeveral *Jews*, that had been driven away from *Martinico*, having heard of my Arrival, came to ſee me, and finding I was very crazy, and much out of Order, they ſent ſome Physicians of their Nation to me, who ſaid, I could not be cured, if I were not carryed aſhoar, and thereupon offered to ſollicite the Governour on my behalf, for giving me leave to go lie in an Houſe in the Town. I drew up a Petition to him, praying him to grant me that Liberty, and promiſing I would not  
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stir out of the Chamber where I was placed, till I went to reimbark to go for *Martinico*.

The Physicians themselves were obliged to be my Securities, and I was at length carryed to Mr. *Jacob Lewis* his House, where I was very well looked after all the time I staid there. Three days after I was brought thither, the Major-General came to see me from Colonel *Russel* the Governour; he very civilly offered me his Protection, and all those things that could be conducive for the recovery of my Health: The same Major, as also the Captain of the Garrison, came also to Visit me from time to time, tho' I apprehended they came not so much to inspect into the state of my health, as to see if I were in a Condition to be transported out of that Island. Colonel *Russel* also himself, about ten or twelve days after my Arrival, came to see if I was so bad as they said I was: He came again about seven or eight days after in the Evening, and caused me to be carryed out of the *Jew's* House, where I was, to an *English* Merchant's. He told me, I should be better accommodated there than at *Jacob Lewis's*; but I thought it was to the intent I might be watched more narrowly, and not converse with so many People. He came to see me next day, and asked, how I liked my new Lodging? I rendred him many Thanks for the Civilities and Kindnesses he shewed me, and that he might have no occasion to suspect my Men, I prayed him to shut them up in the Cittadel, that they might not run about the Island, and to prevent their making of their Escape.

He said, he would take care of it, but that I was to understand they were Prisoners of War as well as my self. I made answer, I knew that, and that I thought my self an happy Man, to have fallen into his hands: But that the *English* Captain, who had brought me to *Barbadoes*, had given me his Word, I should not be detained, nor any of my Men; That it was upon his Faith given me, and the renders of Service he made me, that I had embarked, as firmly relying upon those Testimonies of his Friendship he had given me. Then I desired him to grant me and my Men our Liberty, promising I should ever be mindful of the Favour done me, whether it were by restoring of the Prisoners I might take belonging to the Islands, or paying him such a Ransom as he required.

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No, said the Governour, I will have neither your Ransom, nor your Prisoners, and you are too brave a Man, for me to have no Compassion upon your many Misfortunes: I desire, on the contrary, that you would accept of these Forty Pistoles, which I present you with, to supply your present occasion: He gave them me in a Purse, which he had doubtless brought along with him for that purpose; and when he left me, he said, he went to give Orders for to bring my Men together. Next day he sent me two of them, who said, they knew not what was become of the rest, and that they had Orders from the Governour to stay with me. I had the Liberty to send them abroad to get me Necessaries; and at last, finding my self somewhat recovered by the care my Landlord took of me, I told the Officer that came daily to see me, that I desired the Governour to let me go on board the first Vessel that was bound to *Martinico*.

Three days after, came a Bark, which the Count *de Blenac*, General of the *French Islands*, had sent thither about the exchange of Prisoners: Colonel *Russel* sent me word she was come, and that I should prepare to be gone. Then it was I had the Liberty to go to his House, to render him Thanks for all the Civilities he had shewed me: He told me, he was sorry that by the Laws of War he was bound to allow me no more Liberty than I had, and that he pray'd me to use the *English* kindly, then should happen to fall into my Hands. This being done, I went on board the *French* Bark, which was commanded by the *Sieur Courpon*, formerly an Inhabitant of *St. Christophers*, and I could never find any more of my *Freebooters* than those two I have spoken of, whom the Governour sent me.

We went ashore at *Port Royal* in *Martinico*, and I went with my Men to the Town to wait upon Monsieur *de Blenac*, who was then sick of that Distemper he died of. I gave him a Relation of all my Adventures, and I am sure he was surprized to hear the Particulars of so many Misfortunes: As he would have me stay at his House all the time I tarried in *Martinico*, he made me every day repeat unto him the manner of my Fight with the *English* Man of War, and at last finding an Opportunity of getting me transported into *France*, he sent for the Captain of the Ship who was bound thither,  
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and recommended me to him. He would also have writ Letters by me to Monsieur *Phelipeaux*, to recommend me to some Employ, but the day before my departure he was taken so very ill, that he could not write, and that day, which was the Tenth of *June*, in the Evening he died: I was mightily troubled at his Death for several Reasons. He was a Person that took delight in serving every body, who had great Compassion on such as had been persecuted by an Evil Fate, as was my Case, who went forwards with what he knew, who of himself made an offer of those Favours he was minded to bestow, before they were asked of him, and who, in short, was brave as to his Person, Skilful in Maritime Affairs, a good Seaman, knew all the Coasts and heights of Lands in *America*, was in great Esteem with the King for his Integrity, Wisdom, Justice, and for all his great Services he had done the Government in the way of Commerce, and Discovery of Islands. The day after his Death I embarked on board the *Virgin*, a Ship belonging to *Bordeaux*, and which had been built there, in which Port, after a Passage of not many days, I arrived at last with many different Thoughts, and contrary Sentiments within me. I do not know whether I have bid the Sea adieu, so much has my last Misfortune terrified me; or whether I shall go out again to be revenged on the *English*, who have done me so much Mischief; or go and traverse the Seas with a Design to get me a little Wealth, or rest quiet, and eat up what my Relations have left me. There is a strange Inclination in Men to undertake Voyages, as there is to Gaming; whatever Misfortunes befall them, they do not believe they will be always unhappy, and therefore they will play on. Thus it is as to the Sea, whatever Accidents befall us, we are in hopes to find a favourable Opportunity to make us amends for all our Losses. I believe whoever reads this Account, will find it an hard Task to give me Counsel thereupon, or to take the same himself.

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